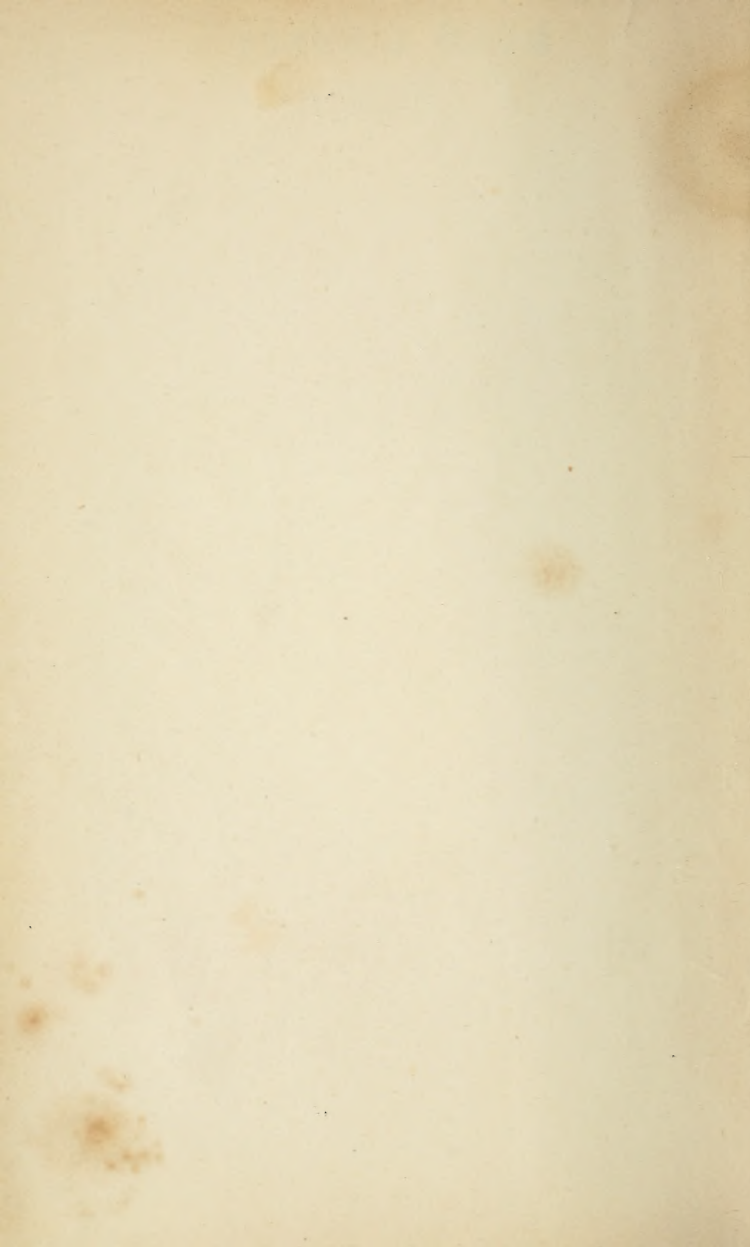


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BRIDGE OVER THE BAFING.

DISCOVERY AND ADVENTURE

IN

AFRICA.

BY HUGH MURRAY, Esq. F.R.S.E.

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA."

WITH A

NARRATIVE OF RECENT EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS.

LONDON:

T. NELSON AND SONS, PATERNOSTER ROW;
EDINBURGH; AND NEW YORK.

MDCCCLVII.

RECOVERY AND ADJUSTMENT

AFRICA

BY JOHN WHEAT, Esq. F.R.S.

Author of "The History of the African Slave Trade."

LONDON: Printed by J. JOHNSON, Strand, 1794.

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PREFACE.

THE object of this volume is to exhibit, within a moderate compass, whatever is most interesting in the adventures and observations of those travellers who, from the earliest ages, and in various directions, have sought to explore Africa; and also to give a general view of the physical and social condition of that extensive continent at the present day. This quarter of the globe has afforded ampler scope than any other to that enterprising spirit which impels men, regardless of toil and peril, to penetrate into unknown countries. Down to a comparatively recent period, the greater part of its immense surface was the subject only of vague report and conjecture. The progress of those discoverers, by whom a very large extent of its interior has at length been disclosed, having been accompanied with arduous labours, and achieved in the face of the most formidable obstacles, presents a succession of striking incidents, as well as of new and remarkable objects. Nor can our interest fail to be heightened by the consideration, that Britain, by the intrepid spirit of her travellers, her associations of distinguished individuals, and her national patronage, has secured almost the exclusive glory of the many great

advances which within the last sixty years have been made towards the completion of this important object.

The work now submitted to the public, and the one on the Polar Regions, embrace two of the most interesting fields of modern adventure. The brave men who traversed those opposite portions of the world, frequently found their efforts checked, and their career arrested, by the operation of causes which, although equally powerful, were yet extremely different in their nature. In the Northern Seas they suffered from that dreadful extremity of cold to which high latitudes are exposed; in Africa, from the scorching heat and pestilential vapours peculiar to a tropical climate. There, they encountered the fury of oceans and tempests; here, the privations and fatigues which oppress the traveller in parched and boundless deserts. In the former they had less to endure from that almost total absence of human society which renders the Arctic zone so dismal, than they had to sustain in the latter from the fierce, contemptuous, and persecuting character of the people who occupy a great portion of the Libyan continent. In a word, while exploring these remote regions, they braved almost every species of danger, and passed through every variety of suffering, by which the strength and fortitude of man can be tried.

The interval which has elapsed since the first appearance of this work has afforded the means of adding greatly to its value. In one new edition there were added notices of the British settlements, and the long

chapter on the Landers' discovery of the termination of the Niger. In another edition were added still further notices of the British settlements, some accounts of the countries adjacent to the Cape Colony, the information from Captain Owen respecting the east coast, and the important chapter on Laird and Oldfield, Allen, and Davidson. In the edition of 1853 there were added the chapter on boat and steam-ship explorations in the West; the chapter on Duncan, Richardson, and the French; the chapter on explorations in the basin of the Upper Nile; the early and middle parts of the chapter on recent discoveries in the East and South; and a large portion of the latter part of the chapter on the social condition of Africa. And to the present edition is added the latter part (pages 434 to 448) of the chapter on recent discoveries in the East and South. This new matter is nearly as extensive as the entire narrative of the original work; and it is all replete with interest to both the geographer and the general reader; remarkable alike for the vast amount of discovery which it records and for the rich variety of adventure which it relates.

There were in the original work a chapter on the geology of Africa, and three chapters on the natural history of Africa. But these, besides possessing little or no attraction for the majority of readers, have been considerably antiquated by the progress of discovery and of science. They are therefore now left out. To the map, which was originally constructed with care, according to the best authorities, various additions have been made, in order to illustrate the new discoveries and settlements.

The present work having for its main object the History of Discovery and Adventure, does not include the countries on the Mediterranean coast, which, being from the earliest ages well known to the nations of Europe, have been separately brought forward under the title of the Barbary States. Egypt, again, owing to its high antiquity, its stupendous monuments, and the memorable revolutions through which it has passed, has in like manner afforded ample materials for a distinct volume; and the same plan has been followed with respect to the extensive countries of Nubia and Abyssinia.

EDINBURGH, *July* 1837.



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DISCOVERY AND ADVENTURE

IN

A F R I C A.

CHAPTER I.

General View of the Natural Features of Africa.

Introductory Observations—Its Situation on the Globe—Extensive Deserts—Mountains and Rivers—Vegetable Life—Animal Life—Social Aspect—Striking Contrasts which it presents.

BEFORE following the career of adventure and discovery in Africa, and viewing its kingdoms and regions under their varied aspects, it may be interesting to take a rapid survey of this continent in its original state, as it came from the hands of Nature. Though immense, and abounding even with the most striking and surprising contrasts, yet, on a general view, a certain uniformity, approaching almost to monotony, appears to pervade it. From the one end to the other, dreary wastes, of almost boundless extent, are spread over its surface, alternating with bright spots of the most luxuriant vegetation. These arid tracts, besides, have their borders embellished by shrubs and flowers, tinted with the most brilliant hues; while a profusion of animal life, in all its forms, distinguishes the more temperate latitudes.

Africa, considered in reference to her place on the globe, is an extensive continent so situated with relation to the

CHAP. I.

Natural
features of
Africa.

Geographical
position.

CHAP. I

Circumnavigation of her coasts.

three others as to obstruct the great highway across the ocean. Hence her coasts form the chief barrier to a direct maritime intercourse between the distant extremities of the earth. To perform the vast circuit of her shores, and to round her stormy capes, have tried the courage and constancy of the greatest navigators. Could Africa cease to exist, great facilities would be afforded to the communication between the other continents, and many new channels of commerce would be opened up. As, however, she has an existence likely to be coeval with theirs, our concern is with her actual condition, presenting as it does many peculiar claims to interest in the eyes of the philosopher and politician.

Physical peculiarities.

The physical peculiarities which distinguish Africa seem to depend chiefly on the circumstance, that almost her whole territory is situated within the tropics. The other portions of the earth's surface, which lie directly beneath the solar influence, consist generally either of sea, or of narrow and insular lands refreshed by breezes from the ocean. But the greatest breadth of this continent is under the immediate dominion of the sun ; and most of her people see that great planet, in its annual progress from tropic to tropic, pass twice over their heads, and thus experience a repetition of its most intense and penetrating rays. The highest blessings of this sub-lunary world, when carried beyond a certain limit, become its deadliest bane ; and that orb, accordingly, which cheers and illumines the rest of the earth, glares on Africa with oppressive and malignant beam, blasting the face of Nature, and covering her with desolation. Sometimes it converts the soil into a naked desert, and sometimes overspreads it with a noxious exuberance of vegetation. The land, when not watered by copious rains or the overflowing of rivers, is scorched and dried up, till it is turned into a dreary waste. Hence the vast plains of sand form a feature truly alarming. The Great Desert, with the exception of the narrow valley of the Nile, reaches across the entire continent, exhibiting an expanse of burning surface, where for many

Intense heat.



days the pilgrim finds not a drop of water, nor sees the smallest vestige of animal or vegetable life. He pursues his dreary route amid loose hills, incessantly shifting, and leaving no marks to guide his course. Every breeze is loaded with dust, which enters the mouth and nostrils, penetrating even between the clothes and skin. Sometimes the sand drives along in clouds and whirlwinds, beneath which it was once thought that caravans and even armies had been buried ; but it is now ascertained that the numerous bones which whiten the desert are merely those of adventurers who have sunk under famine, thirst, and fatigue ; and that the sand, which continually moves, has accumulated over them. Travellers in these desolate tracts have been impressed with the idea of their being the bed of an ancient ocean. This is not the place to enter into a speculation on the formation of the earth ; but that every part of its surface lay once beneath the waters is sufficiently apparent, though there is no historical proof that Africa emerged later than other continents. The earliest records represent her deserts to have been as extensive as they are in our days, and to have pressed equally close upon the cultivated belt along the northern coast. In general all regions between the tropics, when not plentifully watered, moulder into sand, alternating with a hard and impenetrable stratum of clay. The central wastes of Asia, of Arabia, and of Sindetic Hindostan, though inferior to those of Africa, are yet of a similar character, and also of immense extent.

CHAP. I.

The Great Desert.

Impression of travellers.

In order to obviate the extreme effects of the tropical sun, which produces a desolation so dreadful, Nature has provided suitable remedies. Every country under this latitude has its rainy season, when, amidst the blaze of lightnings and the noise of thunder which rends the sky, Heaven seems to open all her windows to pour an unbroken flood upon the earth. The ground is covered as with a deluge, and the dry beds of the rivulets are filled with torrents ; yet so intense are the solar rays, that the moisture thus lavished upon the surface is quickly dried

Rainy season.

CHAP. I.

Swelling of
the rivers.

Mountain
chains.

Extent and
course of the
rivers.

Vegetable
life.

up. Great rivers, which, swollen by the rains, overflow their banks and lay the adjoining country under water, or at least afford the means of artificial inundation, are the principal source of that luxuriant fertility, that rapid growth of all vegetable substances, which characterize, in a peculiar manner, every tropical climate. It is to the streams, which descend from the lofty precipices and eternal snows of the Himmaleh, that the plains of Hindostan and China owe their amazing fruitfulness. Africa, too, has elevated mountain-chains, which give rise to several rivers of great magnitude and most fertilizing influence. Atlas, along its northern border, presents, even in so hot an atmosphere, pinnacles wrapt in everlasting snow. Still more extensive is that central range, which, distinguished by various local names, is most generally known under the poetical appellation of "The Mountains of the Moon." Yet these ridges, besides being less gigantic than those of the other continents, labour under the peculiar disadvantage of extending across the breadth only of Africa. The Andes and the Himmaleh, those stupendous heights of America and Asia, as they traverse their respective regions in the direction of their length, cover a much greater surface, and thus create fertility in the plains which intervene between their bases and the ocean. But the larger of the African rivers, directing their course through a vast extent of low land, reach the sea only by a very circuitous passage; while several of them, diffusing their waters into lakes, are lost in the very heart of the continent. The result is, that the enormous breadth of the Sahara, or Great Desert, is scarcely irrigated even by a streamlet. It depends entirely on the periodical rains; and these sink into the sandy and porous surface, till, being arrested at the depth of eight or ten feet, they form that "sea under ground" which has been traced throughout a large portion of the waste.

Vegetable life, in consequence of this absence of moisture, is scantily diffused over a great extent of central Africa. In the heart of the mountains, however, and in the kingdoms along their border, the soil is most pro-

fusely watered, and, under the influence of a tropical sun, produces, perhaps beyond any other part of the world, that luxuriant growth, and those gigantic vegetable forms, which distinguish the equatorial regions. The baobab, or great calabash, appears to be the most enormous tree on the face of the earth. Adanson assures us, that its circumference in some cases, is fully thirteen fathoms, as measured by his arms passed round the trunk. Branches, extending horizontally, each equal to a large tree, make the baobab a forest as it were in itself. The mangrove, too, which rises on the borders of rivers or inundated spots, diffuses itself in a manner truly remarkable. The branches dropping down upon the watery bank, strike root and grow; hence the original stem, spreading farther and farther, throws over the stream a species of natural arcade. Nor do these mighty trees stand alone, but have their interstices filled up by numberless shrubs, canes, creeping and parasitical plants, which intersect and entwine with each other till they form a thick and impenetrable mass of underwood. To cut even a narrow path through these dense groves is a laborious process; and as shoots are continually growing inwards on each side, the track, without constant travelling and the diligent use of the axe, soon becomes impassable.

CHAP. I.

 Gigantic
tropical
vegetation.

 Shrubs and
parasitical
plants.

As we approach the confines of the Desert, these giants of the wood disappear, and vegetation presents a different and more pleasing aspect. It exhibits now the light and gay form of the acacia, whole forests of which rise amid the sand, distilling those rich gums that constitute an important material of African commerce. The *lotus*, a celebrated and classical shrub, the tamarisk, and other elegant trees, afford agreeable and nutritive berries, which are used as the principal food of several nations. Various flowering bushes, too, of the most delicate tints, rising in wild and spontaneous beauty, embellish the precincts of the waste. Thus, when first approached, and before vegetable nature begins to expire, instead of assuming a stern character, it wears rather a pleasing and smiling aspect.

 The acacia
and lotus.

CHAP. I

Animal life.

The animal world* in Africa changes equally its nature as it passes from one to another of these opposite regions. In the plains inundated by the great rivers it multiplies with extraordinary power, and often assumes huge and repulsive forms. Throughout all this continent the wild tribes exist in large and formidable numbers, and there is scarcely a tract which they do not either hold in full possession, or fiercely dispute with man. Even the most densely-peopled countries border on wide forests and wastes, whose ruthless tenants find their prey occasionally in the wandering savage, as well as in the tamer animals which surround him; and when the scent of human slaughter is wafted on the breeze, bands of hungry monsters hasten from every side to the feast of blood. These ferocious creatures hold, indeed, so commanding a position, that the native scarcely makes any attempt to extirpate them, or even to prevent their increase. He wages against them only a defensive war, and employs his courage and skill chiefly in hunting the elephant, the antelope, and other peaceful species, by whose spoil he may be enriched.

Dangers
from wild
beasts.

The lion.

The lion, that king of the desert, and mightiest among the tribes which have the wilderness for their abode, abounds in Africa, and causes all her forests to re-echo his midnight roar. Yet both his courage and fierceness have, it is said, been overrated; and the man who can undauntedly face him, or evade his first dreadful spring, rarely falls his victim. Wider ravages are committed by the hyena, not the strongest, but the most ferocious and untameable of all the beasts of prey. These creatures, by moving in numerous bands, achieve what is beyond the single strength of the larger animals; they burst with devouring rage into the cities, and have even carried by storm fortified enclosures. The elephant roams in vast herds through the densely-wooded tracts of the

Hyena.

* In the present chapter we allude only to a few of the more conspicuous and peculiar characteristics of African zoology. The subject is treated at greater length in a subsequent part of this volume.

interior, disputing with the lion the rank of sovereign among quadrupeds ; matchless in bulk and strength, yet tranquil, majestic, peaceful, he is led with his fellows under the guidance of the most ancient of their number, having a social and almost moral existence. He seldom attacks either man or beast. The human being is in most cases the aggressor, not only with the view of protecting the fruits of the earth, but also in order to obtain the bony substance composing his tusks, which, under the name of ivory, forms one of the most valued articles of African trade. The prodigious strength of the elephant, his almost impenetrable hide, his rapid though awkward movements, render him a most perilous object of attack even to the boldest hunters ; so that pits and snares of various kinds are the usual means by which his capture is effected. Instead of the tiger, Africa has the leopard and the panther, belonging, however, only to certain of its districts.

CHAP. I

The ele-
phant.

In the large and broad rivers of this continent, and through the immense forests which overshadow them, a race of amphibious animals of monstrous shape and size display their unwieldy figures. The rhinoceros, though not strictly amphibious, slowly traverses marshes and swampy grounds, and almost equals the elephant in strength and defensive powers, but wants his stature, his dignity, and his wisdom. The single or double horn with which he protects himself is an article of commerce in the East, though not valued in Europe. A still huger form is that of the hippopotamus, or river-horse, fitted alike to stalk on land, to march along the bottom of the waters, or to swim on their surface. He is slow, ponderous, and gentle ; yet when annoyed, either by design or accident, his wrath is terrible ; he rushes up from his watery retreat, and, by merely striking with his enormous tusks, can overset or sink a loaded canoe. But the most dreaded of all the inhabitants of the African rivers is the crocodile, the largest and fiercest of the lizard tribe. He lies like a log upon the waters, watching for his prey, attacking men and even the strongest

The rhino-
ceros.The croco-
dile.

CHAP. I.

Reptiles and
serpents.

animals, which, however, engage with him in obstinate and deadly encounters.

We have not yet done with the various prodigious creatures that Africa generates. She swarms more especially with the serpent brood, which spread terror, some by their deadly poison, others by their mere bulk and strength ; in which last respect her reptiles have struck the world with amazement. Ancient history records that whole provinces have been overrun by them, and that one, in particular, after disputing the passage of a river with a Roman army, was destroyed only by the use of a battering engine.

Borders of
the desert.

Emerging from these dank regions, where the earth, under the united influence of heat and moisture, teems with such a noxious superabundance of life, we approach the Desert. Here a change takes place equally singular and pleasing as in the vegetable world. Only light and airy forms trip along the sandy border ; creatures innocent, gentle, and beautiful,—the antelope, of twenty different species, all swift, with bright eyes, erect and usually elegant figures,—preying neither on men nor the other animals, but pursued by most on account of the delicate food which they afford. Here, too, roams the zebra, with its finely-striped skin, encompassing it like a robe of rich cloth ; and the camelopard, the tallest and most remarkable of quadrupeds, with his long fore-legs and high-stretching neck, of singular and fantastic beauty, crops the leaves of the African forest. Though a rare species, he is seen occasionally straying over a great portion of that continent.

Orang-
outang.

Nature, sporting, as it would seem, in the production of extraordinary objects, has filled Africa with a wonderful multitude of those animals which bear the closest alliance to “the human form divine.” The orang-outang appears to constitute the link between man and the lower orders of living things. Standing erect, without a tail, with flat face, and arms of not greatly disproportioned length, it displays in every particular a deformed resemblance to the lord of the creation. It seems even

to make a nearer approach than any other animal to the exercise of reason. It has been taught to make its own bed, to sit at table, to eat with a knife and fork, and to pour out tea. M. Degrandpré mentions one kept on board a French vessel, which lighted and kept the oven at a due temperature, put in the bread at a given signal, and even assisted in drawing the ropes. There was a strong suspicion among the sailors that it would have spoken, but for the fear of being put to harder work.—

CHAP. I.

Docility.

Baboons.

The baboons, again, are a large, brutal species, disgusting in their appearance, yet not without some kind of union and polity. The monkey tribe, now familiar in Europe, and attracting attention by their playful movements, fill with sportive cries all the forests of tropical Africa.

Insects.

The insect race, which in our climate is generally harmless, presents there many singular and even formidable characteristics. The flying tribes in particular, through the action of the sun on the swampy land, rise up in terrible and destructive numbers. They fill the air and darken the sky; they annihilate the labour of nations; they drive even armies before them. The locust, when its bands issue in close and dark array from the depths of the Desert, commits ravages surpassing those of the most ferocious beasts, or even the more desolating career of human warfare. In vain do the despairing inhabitants seek with fire and other means to arrest their progress; the dense and irresistible mass continues to move onward, and soon baffles every attempt to check its course. Whole provinces which, at their entrance, display rich harvests or brilliant verdure, are left without an ear or a blade; and, when at length destroyed by famine or tempest, they cover immense tracts exhaling the most noisome stench. Yet they may be used as food, and are even relished by certain native tribes. The mosquito and its allies do not spread such a fearful desolation; though, by their poisoned and tormenting stings, they render life miserable, and not very unfrequently lead to its extinction. Even a swarm of wild bees, in the solitary woods of Western Africa, has put

Ravages of the locust.

Use as food.

CHAP. I

Termites, or
white ants.

The queen
ant.

Self-imposed
sufferings of
the people.

a whole caravan to flight, wounding severely some of its members. But perhaps the most extraordinary of all the insect races are the termites or white ants, which display, on a greater scale, the arts and social organization for which their species are so famed in Europe. They cover the plains with their conical huts from ten to twelve feet in height, and are regularly distributed into labourers and soldiers, with others holding the rank of king and queen. This latter personage, when about to add to the numbers of the tribe, presents a most extraordinary spectacle, being swelled to many times the amount of her natural dimensions ; and, at the arrival of the critical period, instead of a progeny of two or three, she produces as many thousands. These ants are far from being of the same harmless description as the corresponding insects of this quarter of the world. On finding their way into a house they devour every thing, clothes, furniture, food, not even, it is said, sparing the inmates, who are compelled to make a speedy retreat.

Such are the evils to which the people of this continent are perpetually exposed from the lower creation ; and yet they experience in full force the truth of the pathetic lamentation of the poet, that "man is to man the surest, deadliest foe." Africa, from the earliest ages, has been the most conspicuous theatre of crime and of wrong ; where social life has lost the traces of primitive simplicity, without rising to order, principle, or refinement ; where fraud and violence are formed into national systems, and man trembles at the sight of his fellow-creature. For centuries, thousands of her unfortunate children have been dragged in chains over her deserts, and across the ocean, to spend their lives in distant bondage. In a word, superstition, tyranny, anarchy, and the opposing interests of numberless petty states, maintain a constant and destructive warfare in this suffering portion of the earth.

Nevertheless, compelled as we have thus been to describe the ills of Africa, we should err very widely did we represent her as pervaded by one deep monoton-

ous gloom. In some parts of the picture there are bright lights interspersed, that shine more conspicuously from the vast blanks and deep shadows with which they are surrounded. In the heart of the most dreary wastes, there emerges many a little oasis or verdant islet, which to the wanderer of the desert appears almost an earthly paradise. These spots have been painted in colours that belong not to the imperfect abodes of earth ; as gardens of the gods, fairy seats, islands destined to be the mansions of the blessed. In like manner, in the bosom of its wildest woods and mountains, there lurk, in many an unsuspected retreat, scenes of the most soft and pastoral beauty. Even amid its moral darkness there shine forth virtues which would do honour to human nature in its most refined and exalted state. A tender flow of domestic affection generally pervades African society. Signal displays, too, have been made of the most generous hospitality ; and travellers, who were on the point of perishing, have been befriended and saved by absolute strangers, and even by enemies. These varieties of nature and of character, these alternations of wildness and of beauty, of lawless violence and of the most generous kindness, render the progress of the European through this continent more interesting and eventful, more diversified by striking scenes and incidents, than in any other quarter of the globe.

CHAP. I

Brighter
regions of
Africa.

Natural
affections.

CHAPTER II.

Knowledge of Africa among the Ancients.

Northern Africa well known—Obstacles opposed by the Desert—Description given by Herodotus—by Diodorus—by Strabo—Ancient Accounts of the Nile—of Ethiopia—of Abyssinia—Expedition sent by Necho—Journey of the Nasamones—Voyage of Sataspes—of Hanno—Voyages of Eudoxus—Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.

CHAP. II.

Ancient
knowledge of
Africa.

Historic
regions.

AFRICA, so far as it extends along the Mediterranean, was not only well known to the nations of antiquity, but constituted an integral part of their political and social system. This coast forms, indeed, only a comparatively small portion of that great continent; but while the sphere of civilisation and the geographical knowledge of the Greeks were nearly comprised within the circuit of the Mediterranean shores, Northern Africa held in their view no inconsiderable importance. This region, now covered with thick darkness, and left so far behind in all the arts and attainments which exalt and adorn human nature, had at that early period taken the lead, in these very particulars, of all other nations. It included Egypt and Carthage, which, as the first seats of government and commerce, were the admiration of the ancient world. In the patriarchal ages, when the Scripture history represents the Mesopotamian Plain, the scene of the future empires of Babylon and Assyria, as little more than a wide and open common, Egypt appears regularly organized, and forming a great and powerful kingdom; and when Greece was under the tumultuary sway of a number of petty chieftains, Homer already celebrates the Hundred Gates of Thebes, and

the mighty hosts which in warlike array issued from them to battle. The valley of the Nile was famed also among the ancients for producing the first elements of learning and abstract research; the first approach to alphabetical writing by hieroglyphic emblems; the first great works in sculpture, painting, and architecture; and travellers even now find that country covered with magnificent monuments, erected at an era when the faintest dawn of science had not yet illumined the regions of Europe. While Egypt was thus pre-eminent in knowledge and art, Carthage equally excelled in commerce and in the wealth produced by it; by means of which she rose to such a degree of power as enabled her to hold long suspended between herself and Rome the scales of universal empire. In her grand struggle with that republic she sunk amid a blaze of expiring glory; while the land of the Pharaohs, after having passed through many ages of alternate splendour and slavery, was also at length included in the extended dominion of the Cæsars. Yet, though all Northern Africa thus merged into a province of the Roman world, it was still an opulent and enlightened one; boasting equally with others its sages, its saints, its heads and fathers of the church; and exhibiting Alexandria and Carthage on a footing with the greatest cities which owned the imperial sway.

While, however, the region along the Nile and the Mediterranean was thus not only well known, but formed a regular part of the ancient civilized world, the progress of science did not extend beyond the tract bordering on the sea and the river. After proceeding a few journeys into the interior, the traveller found himself among wild and wandering tribes, who exhibited human nature under its rudest and most repulsive forms. On his advancing somewhat farther, there appeared a barrier at once vast and appalling,—endless plains of moving sand, without a shrub, a blade of grass, or a single object by which life could be cheered or supported. This formidable boundary, which stopped the victorious career of Cambyzes and of Alexander, arrested much more easily

CHAP. II

Origin of learning and letters on the banks of the Nile.

Commercial importance of Carthage.

Limited extent of African civilization.

CHAP. II. every attempt at improvement and colonization. It secured to the roaming tribes of the Desert the undisturbed possession of those insulated spots of verdure, which were scattered at distant intervals amid the desolation of the interminable waste.

The desert boundary.

The border tract.

Meantime, although these causes prevented the civilisation, and even the knowledge of Europeans, from ever penetrating deeply beyond the Mediterranean border, yet between it and the measureless Desert there intervened a wide tract of alternate rock, valley, and plain, presenting a varied and often a picturesque landscape. This region, intermediate between the known and the unknown, between civilized and savage existence, excited in a great degree the curiosity of the ancients; to whom, however, it always appeared dimly as through a cloud, and tinged with a certain fabulous and poetical colouring.

Investigation of Herodotus.

Herodotus, the earliest and most interesting of Greek historians, when endeavouring to collect information respecting the whole of the inhabited world, was obliged, in the absence of written documents, to have recourse to travelling; and his narrative is almost entirely the record of what he saw and heard during his various peregrinations. By means of a long stay in Egypt, and an intimate communication with the native priests, he learned much that was accurate, as well as somewhat that was incorrect and exaggerated, respecting the wide region which extends from the Nile to the Atlantic. He justly describes it as much inferior in fertility to the cultivated parts of Europe and Asia, and suffering severely from drought; yet there were a few spots, as Cinyps and the high tracts of Cyrene, which, being finely irrigated, might stand a comparison with the richest portions of the globe. Generally, however, on quitting the northern coast, which he terms the forehead of Africa, the country became more and more arid. Hills of salt arose, out of which the natives constructed their houses without any fear of their melting beneath a shower, in a region where rain was unknown. The land became almost a desert.

Fertile portions.

and was filled with such multitudes of wild beasts as to be considered their proper inheritance, and scarcely disputed with them by the human race. Farther to the south the soil no longer afforded food even to these fierce tenants; there was not the trunk of a tree nor a drop of water; total silence and desolation reigned. Such is the general picture Herodotus draws of this northern boundary of the great African desert, which must be acknowledged to be extremely accurate.

In the tract westward from Egypt, behind the hilly range of Cyrene, the first object was the celebrated shrine of Ammon, dedicated to the Theban Jove, and to which the Greeks were wont to ascribe a higher prophetic power than even to their own Delphic oracle. This temple, situated in the midst of almost impassable deserts, was distinguished for a fountain which, sensibly warm at midnight, became gradually colder till noon. Ten days' journey beyond Ammon lay Ægila, occupied by the Nasamones, a numerous people, who in winter fed their flocks on the coast, and in summer repaired to collect the dates that grow here in extensive forests of palm-trees. To these wanderers are ascribed various singular customs, among which was their mode of foreseeing the future by lying down to sleep on the tombs of their ancestors, watching the dreams that arose while in this position, and treasuring them up as oracles. Bordering upon this nation had formerly been the Psylli, famous for charming serpents, an art not yet wholly lost among their successors; but that tribe, suffering once under a severe drought, had been so ill-informed as to proceed southward in hope of finding water, where, being involved in those vast and burning deserts, they entirely perished, and their place was taken by the Nasamones. Beyond them the Macæ inhabited a beautiful region watered by the river Cinyps, on whose banks rose "the hill of the Graces," covered with a profusion of the finest foliage. Such is still the gay and brilliant aspect which the neighbourhood of Bengazi presents. To the south of the Nasamones, in a region almost resigned to wild

CHAP. II.

Extreme
variations of
aspect.

The temple
of Jupiter
Ammon.

Border
tribes.

CHAP. II. beasts, the Garamantes inhabited an extensive valley, now called Fezzan. They are represented under characters of which the present natives retain no trace,—as a solitary and timid people, shunning the intercourse of strangers, destitute of arms, and not even attempting to defend themselves against foreign aggression.

Tribes round the Lake of Tritonia. After the Gindanes and the Lotophagi, who fed on the lotus and made wine from its fruit, came the Machlyes and the Auses, dwelling round the Lake of Tritonis,—the scene of the reported birth and oracle of Minerva, with which were connected many celebrated fables of ancient mythology. An annual festival of a peculiar kind was celebrated by the virgins of the latter tribe, when their fair hands were employed in throwing stones against each other with such fury that usually some of them were left dead on the spot. The fate of these sufferers was peculiarly hard, since it was supposed to justify the most unfavourable suspicions respecting their previous life. After all, this rough sport of the Libyan belles is not much ruder than one which we shall find still practised among the most distinguished dames of Bornou.

Carthaginian orders. Proceeding farther westward, Herodotus finds a family of the Auses, called Maxyes, who cultivated the ground; and he is now on the border of the Carthaginian territory, of which, for reasons that Major Rennell cannot fully comprehend, he forbears to treat. He follows the direction of the interior from the Garamantes, beyond whom were Ethiopians dwelling in caves and running so swiftly that the former people found it necessary to hunt them in chariots,—a proceeding very unsuitable to the meek character elsewhere ascribed to them, and which, it is feared, may have been practised with the evil intent of carrying off these poor victims as slaves. Our author comes next to the Atlantes, and relates several things, which, with better knowledge, he would probably have omitted. He pretends, for example, that none of them bear proper names; that they neither eat animal food nor dream dreams; and, what is not quite so improbable, that, on seeing the sun rise, they pour reproaches and

execrations on him, for the manner in which he burns and destroys their land. Behind them ascends the long and lofty range of Atlas, whose head is said to remain for ever invisible and wrapped in clouds, and which the natives believe to be the pillar of heaven,—a creed adopted, or perhaps invented, by the Greeks and Romans. Herodotus here stops, frankly owning that his information did not enable him to go farther. The only other accounts which had reached him respected a nation beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Straits of Gibraltar), with whom the Carthaginians carried on trade in a very peculiar manner. This wild and timid race would not approach or hold parley with those adventurers, who, on drawing near to the shore, kindled a fire, uttered loud cries, and laid on the sand a certain quantity of goods. The natives hearing them, and seeing the smoke, came down, surveyed the deposite, placed beside it a certain portion of gold, the most precious article of their traffic, and withdrew. The foreigners advanced to examine the tender thus made, and according to their estimate of its value, either carried away the bullion, or left the whole untouched; in which last case the simple people understood that more of the precious metal was expected. Thus the parties went backwards and forwards, till the exchange was adjusted.

CHAP. II.

Fable of
Atlas.Carthage-
nian and
native barter

If the accounts given by Herodotus of this western region be tinged with fable, the narrative of Diodorus shows still more that the ancients had made it one of the grand theatres of their mythology. To it they refer the ancient and early reign of Saturn, under the appellation of Ouranus or Heaven; the birth of Jupiter, and his nursing by Amalthæa; the impious race of the Titans, and their wars with the gods; Cybele, with her doting love for Atys and frantic grief for his fate. This historian represents the Atlantic people as claiming these objects for themselves; but it seems much more probable, that the warm imagination of the Greeks, attracted by the mysterious grandeur of the region, transported thither the creations of their own fancy. Our author, however,

African
theatre of
ancient my-
thology.

CHAP. II.

—
African race
of Amazons.

Tuarick
respect for
woman.

Narrative of
Strabo.

makes a positive averment as to the existence of a race of Amazons there, still more warlike and formidable than those on the banks of the Thermodon. They did not, like these last, positively exterminate or expel the male sex from their confines ; but, reserving to themselves the cares of war and government, employed their lords in keeping the house, tending the children, and performing all the functions which are elsewhere exclusively assigned to females. As soon as the wife had gone through the necessary trouble of bearing a child, she handed it to the husband to be nursed, and immediately resumed her own high and arduous occupations. These gallant viragoes, it is said, not only ravaged all this part of Africa, but passed the Isthmus of Suez, and carried their victorious arms into Syria and Asia Minor. What foundation there may be in fact for this story of the western Amazons it is not easy to conjecture ; but the Tuaricks, a numerous race still found in these regions, treat their females with greater respect, and allow them more liberty than is usual among their neighbours. Nor were these the only fierce and warlike women who spread terror through Africa. Diodorus places here the Gorgons, who caused death by the mere hideousness of their aspect, and the serpents hissing in the hair of Medusa. Yet, amid all these terrible fables, he gives a just description of the back-settlements of Northern Africa ; representing them as thinly inhabited by wandering tribes, as bounded by an extensive uniform plain resembling the ocean, covered with piles of sand whose termination was unknown, and which, instead of any object that could cheer the eye or refresh the senses, swarmed with serpents of huge form, that inflicted instant death on the unwary traveller. These reptiles were even reported to have once invaded Egypt, and to have driven before them a crowd of its terrified inhabitants.

Strabo, who wrote after the Roman sway was fully established over Africa, gives a much more sober report of its western regions. Extending his view beyond the

Atlas, he describes the Mauri, peopling a rich territory on the Atlantic coast capable of yielding the most abundant harvests; but nothing could wean the nation from the wandering life in which they delighted, moving continually with their tents from place to place, wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, riding without saddle and often without bridle, on small, swift, active horses. He represents them as fighting with sword and spear; not with the poisoned arrows imputed to them by Horace, which, however, are really used at present in Central Africa. Eastward, between the greater and smaller Syrtis, he finds the Masæsyli, who followed once the same wandering life, and were called Nomades or Numidians; but Masinissa had already inured them to the practice of agriculture, and to some of the refinements of polished life. Carthage at its first subjection was razed to the ground, and left long desolate; but the Romans, at length attracted by the appearance of the fine region which surrounds it, sent thither a colony, who soon elevated it to its former rank as the greatest city of Africa.

Another territory, of which the ancients had considerable knowledge, was that extending upwards along the Nile, whose immediate borders have always been not only habitable but fertile. Nothing astonished them more than to see this great river, which, after flowing through a region not moistened by a drop of rain, and where it was not fed by a single rivulet, began to swell at a certain season, rose always higher and higher, till at length it overflowed its banks, and spread like a sea over Lower Egypt. Some of the hypotheses formed to account for this inundation deserve to be noticed: The most prevalent opinion ascribed it to the Etesian winds, blowing from the north periodically and so violently, that the waters of the Nile, thereby prevented from reaching the sea, necessarily spread over the land; but Diodorus clearly shows, besides the reason being itself insufficient, that there was no correspondence in the periods; observing also, that those winds blew up many other rivers without producing a similar effect. The

CHAP. II.

The Mauri or
Berberi

Mode of war-
fare.

Ancient
knowledge
of the Nile
valley.

CHAP. II.

Supposed
sources of
inundation.

philosophers of Memphis, it seems, followed even by Mela, the celebrated Latin geographer, surmised that the unknown and inaccessible fountains of the Nile lay on the opposite side of the globe, where during our summer it was winter ; consequently the greatest rains then fell. and the swollen waters, flowing across the whole breadth of the torrid zone, acquired that soft and mellow taste which made them so agreeable. But the most singular hypothesis is that of Ephorus, who thought that the land was full of gaps or chinks, which in winter absorbed the water, but sweated it out under the influence of the summer heat. Diodorus takes superfluous pains to show that this theory, so absurd in itself, had no correspondence with the facts of the case. The real cause, arising from the rains which fall on the high mountains in the interior and tropical regions, was mentioned and strongly supported by Agatharchides, who wrote a learned work on the Red Sea ; which, however, was far from attaining the favourable reception that it merited.

Ancient
Ethiopia.

The name of Ethiopia was usually applied by the ancients to the southern parts of Africa, and even of Arabia, and generally indeed to all countries inhabited by black nations. The region, however, which extends several hundred miles along the Nile above Egypt, formed the proper Ethiopia,—a sacred realm, in which the priests placed the most revered objects of their mythology. Hither Jove repaired to hold his annual festival ; and here was spread the table of the sun, which, when exposed to the rays of that great luminary, was supposed to take fire of its own accord and be consumed. Hence, according to some, Thebes and Memphis derived all the sciences and arts which rendered them illustrious in that early age. Diodorus even asserts that the learned language of Egypt was the same spoken by the vulgar in Nubia ; but we should much rather believe, with Herodotus, that the latter country owed to the former all that she possessed of art and civilisation. The sovereigns of the upper Nile are said to have received a wild and peculiar homage, by a number of their wives, courtiers, and servants, all

Learned
language of
Egypt.

eagerly canvassing for the honour of being interred along with them,—a practice of savage life still extensively prevalent in pagan Africa. According to the historian this veneration was carried to so singular a pitch, that if the king lost a leg or an arm, each of his courtiers presently severed from himself the same member. The priests, however, whose influence in this realm of superstition was always paramount, appear at one time to have become quite supreme ; reducing their royal master to a state of entire dependence. Lastly, it may be inferred both from classic and sacred writers, that Ethiopia, in the first century, was governed by a female monarch, who appears to have borne the hereditary name of Candace.

CHAP. II.

Savage honours to the dead.

The Greeks settled in Egypt, especially during the wise and able government of the Ptolemies, carried on a considerable navigation along the western coast of the Red Sea, which, holding the continent to be bounded by the Nile, they accounted scarcely African ; but upon this subject we must follow modern ideas. Ptolemy Euergetes seems to have conquered part of Abyssinia, forming it into a kingdom, of which Axum was the capital ; and fine remains of Grecian architecture still attest the fact of this city having been a great and civilized metropolis. Every ancient description, however, represents the native inhabitants of these shores as existing in a state of extreme barbarity and wretchedness. They are classed by Diodorus and Strabo, according to the miserable food on which they usually subsisted ; some as eaters of fish, of elephants, and of turtles, while others are said to have fed on locusts, on roots, and even on the tender branches of trees. Many sought shelter also in places which had no regular claim to be considered as human habitations. These were either cavities dug out of the rock, with an opening to the north for coolness ; or they were formed by twisting together the branches of several large shrubs, and constructing thus a species of shady arbour ; while some tribes, still more forlorn, merely climbed the trees to seek safety and shelter among the foliage. These representations were at one

Greek influence in Egypt.

Ancient condition of Abyssinia.

CHAP. II

Modern
Travellers.

Extent of
area known
to the
Greeks.

time deemed fabulous, and might still have been thought so, had not Bruce and other modern travellers proved the existence of similar rudeness among the Shangalla and other tribes that border on Abyssinia.

The districts now surveyed form the whole of Africa respecting which the Greeks had obtained any precise and determinate knowledge. They comprised a wide extent of shore, but extended a very short distance inland ; being bounded on each side by two unknown coasts, which stretched so far that it was not possible to conjecture their termination. Two tempestuous oceans, a desert the most dreary on the face of the earth, and infested by multitudes of huge and ferocious animals, were the barriers that hemmed in so closely the ancient settlers, and could scarcely in any instance be passed with impunity. Yet the principle of curiosity, which cannot be extinguished in the human breast, is even rendered more ardent by the greatest obstacles. To lift up a portion of that veil, within which the vast mysteries of unknown Libya were shrouded, appeared an achievement rivalling the glories of conquest, and promised to confer immortal renown. The most active and enterprising spirits accordingly, who sought to acquire celebrity by exploring the earth, looked to Africa as affording the most inviting scene of fame and adventure.

Ancient
expeditions
of discovery.

Two expeditions of discovery, the earliest known, and perhaps the earliest ever undertaken, are related by Herodotus. One of the most illustrious of the native kings of Egypt was Necho, whose name ranks second only to that of Sesostris, and who lived about two hundred years before the historian. The habits and prejudices of the ancient Egyptians were unfavourable to maritime enterprises ; yet this ruler, with the spirit of a great man, which raised him superior to the age in which he lived, eagerly sought the solution of the grand mystery regarding the form and termination of Africa. He was obliged to employ, not native, but Phœnician navigators, of whose voyage the Greek author received an account from the Egyptian priests. Proceeding down

the Red Sea they entered the Indian Ocean; and in three years made the complete circuit of the continent, passing through the Pillars of Hercules, and up the Mediterranean to Egypt. They related that, in the course of this very long voyage, they had repeatedly drawn their boats on land, sowed grain in a favourable place and season, waited till the crop was matured under the influence of a tropical heat, then reaped it, and continued their progress. They added that, in passing the most southern point of Africa, they were surprised by observing the sun on their right hand,—a statement which the historian himself rejects as fabulous. Such is all the account transmitted to us of this extraordinary expedition, which has given rise to a learned and voluminous controversy. Rennell in his *Geography of Herodotus*, Vincent in his *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, and Gosselin in his *Geography of the Ancients*, have exhausted almost every possible argument; the first in its favour, the two latter to prove that it never did nor could take place. To these last it appears quite impossible that ancient mariners, with their slender resources, creeping in little row-galleys along the coast, without the aid of the compass, and unable to venture to any distance from land, could have performed so immense a circuit. All antiquity, they observe, continued to grope in doubt and darkness respecting the form of Africa, which was only fully established several thousand years afterwards by the expedition of Gama. On the other side, Major Rennell urges, that, immense as this voyage was, it was entirely along a shore of which the navigators never required to lose sight even for a day; that their small barks were well equipped and better fitted than ours for coasting navigation; and, drawing very little water, could be kept quite close to the land, and even hauled on the beach whenever an emergency made this step indispensable. The statement, that at the extremity of Africa they saw the sun on the right, that is, to the north of them,—a fact which causes Herodotus peremptorily to reject their report,—affords the strongest confirmation of it to us, who know that to

CHAP. II.

Egyptian
exploration.Discussions
on the au-
thenticity of
the narrative.

CHAP. II.

Expedition to
the country
of the Nasamones.

the south of the equator this must have really taken place, and that his unbelief arose entirely from ignorance of the real figure of the earth.

The other expedition had its origin in the country of the Nasamones, whom we have already mentioned as occupying the district southward of Cyrene. Five young men of distinction formed themselves into an African association, personally to explore what was unknown in the vast interior of their continent. They passed first the region inhabited by man; then that tenanted by wild beasts; lastly, they reached the immeasurable sandy waste. Having laid in a good stock of water and provisions, they travelled many days partly in a westerly direction, and came at length to one of the oases or verdant islands which bespangle the Desert. Here they saw trees laden with agreeable fruit, and had begun to pluck, when there suddenly appeared a band of little black men, who seized and carried them off as captives. They were led along vast lakes and marshes to a town situated on a large river flowing from west to east, and inhabited by a people of the same size and colour with the strangers, and strongly addicted to the arts of necromancy. It is not said how or by what route they returned; but, since they supplied this relation, they must by some means have reached home. Herodotus concludes this great river to be the Nile flowing from the westward; while Major Rennell, and more lately M. Heeren, conceive it to be the Niger of Park, and the city to be Timbuctoo; but since the late discoveries of Denham and Clapperton, it has appeared more probable that the stream was the Yeou or river of Bornou. The distance from Cyrene thither is not very great; and nowhere but in the Tchad can we find those mighty lakes which make so prominent a figure in the narration. On the whole, it must appear truly wonderful that these efforts, made at so early an era, should have led to discoveries, respecting both the maritime outline and the interior of the continent, which Europeans could not regain for thousands of years, and one of which has only recently been made.

Great river
discovered.

The next expedition on record was made under less pleasing auspices. Sataspes, a Persian nobleman, had been condemned by Xerxes to crucifixion on account of some crime of which he had been guilty; but his mother, by earnest entreaty, obtained a commutation of the sentence into one which she represented as still more severe,—that of sailing round Africa. Under this heavy necessity, the exile coasted along the Mediterranean, passed the western point of the continent, and began a southern course. But he who undertook to explore this vast country with no interest in the result, buoyed up by no gay enthusiasm, and urged only by the fear of the cross, was ill prepared for achieving so mighty an enterprise. He sailed southward for a considerable space; but when he saw the Atlantic waves beating against the dreary shore of the Sahara, that scene of frequent and hopeless shipwreck, it probably appeared to him that any ordinary form of death was preferable to the one which here menaced him. He returned and presented himself before Xerxes, giving a doleful description of the hardships which he had encountered, declaring that the ship at last stood still of itself, and could by no exertion be made to proceed. That proud monarch, refusing to listen to such an explanation, ordered the original sentence to be immediately executed. Such appears to have been the only African voyage undertaken by the Persians, to whom the sea was an object of aversion, and even of superstitious dread.

CHAP. II.

Expedition
of Sataspes, a
Persian
noble.

Its fruitless
results.

Carthage, the greatest maritime and commercial state of antiquity, and which considered Africa and the Atlantic coast as her peculiar domain, must have made several exploratory voyages before she could establish those extensive connexions upon which her trade was founded. Of all such attempts, however, the record of one only remains. It consisted of an expedition on a very large scale, sent out, about 570 years before the Christian era, for the joint purposes of colonization and discovery, under an admiral named Hanno. He carried with him, in sixty large vessels, emigrants of both sexes to the number of

Carthage-
nian expedi-
tion.

CHAP. II.
 —
 Carthage-
 nian colonies.

Novel ap-
 pearances.

Supposed
 singular race
 of human
 beings.

thirty thousand. At the distance of two days' sail beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the adventurers founded the city of Thymiaterium, and afterwards, on the wooded promontory of Soloeis, erected a stately temple to Neptune. They then built successively five other cities; after which they came to the great river Lixus, flowing from Libya and the high boundary of the Atlas. Its banks were infested by numerous beasts of prey, and inhabited only by savage Ethiopians, living in caves, and repelling every friendly advance. Proceeding three days along a desert coast, the navigators reached an island, which they named Cerne, situated in a recess of the sea, where they established their last colony. Sailing onward still a certain number of days, they saw a large river full of crocodiles and hippopotami, and containing various islands. The inhabitants were timid, and fled at their approach; but their manners presented some remarkable peculiarities. During the day deep silence reigned; but as soon as the sun set, fires blazed on the shore, and the shouts of men were mingled with the varied sounds of cymbals, trumpets, and other musical instruments. This scene, being new to the Carthaginians, struck them with a sort of terror; but, in fact, it must have arisen from the custom prevalent over native Africa, where the inhabitants rest during the oppressive heat of the day, and spend great part of the night in dancing and festivity. On another shore they were astonished to see the land all on fire, and torrents of flame rushing into the sea,—an appearance doubtless owing to one of those conflagrations frequently occasioned in such countries by the practice of setting fire to the grass at the end of autumn. Next appeared an island in a bay, where they found a most singular race, bearing the human form indeed, but covered with shaggy hair, resembling those satyrs and sylvan deities with which pagan mythology peopled the woods. These monsters, whom they call Gorillæ, and who seem evidently to have been orang-outangs, ran off on their approach, climbed rocks, and threw down stones on their pursuers; yet three females were caught, and their skins

carried to Carthage. At length, the coast becoming quite desolate, and no longer affording either provisions or water, it was found necessary to return.

How far this expedition extended, and what proportion of the African coast was surveyed, has been the subject of long and learned controversy. The two most recent and elaborate disputants are Major Rennell and M. Gosselin: the former of whom believes that Hanno passed Sierra Leone, and that the island and bay of the Gorillæ were Sherbro' Island and Sound; while the other terminates the voyage on the frontier of Morocco, at the entrance of the river Nun. The one supposes a course along the western shore of nearly 2500 miles, the other one of about 700; and yet each hypothesis is supported by profound and able arguments.* In such a case who shall decide? We ourselves have made some attempts to do so, without being able to come to a conclusion so clear as to justify us in interposing between two such champions. But whoever undertakes the study of the original works will be gratified by finding all the resources of learning, ingenuity, and acuteness, exhausted by these two great writers on this curious subject.

The individual who in that early age made the most resolute and persevering efforts to explore Africa, was Eudoxus, a native of the city of Cyzicus, who lived about 130 years before Christ. Alexandria was then the centre of naval enterprise, and her princes the most zealous patrons of all useful undertakings. The young Greek happening to visit that city, was introduced to Ptolemy Euergetes, whom he ably assisted in prosecuting those schemes of discovery on which this monarch's mind appears to have been deeply intent. Where so much was unknown on every side, it was a subject of grave deliberation in what direction he should first proceed; and an expedition to trace the upper course and fountain of

CHAP. II.

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Dissentions
concerning
Hanno's
voyage.

Efforts of
Eudoxus.

* M. Heeren has lately attempted to prove that Hanno's voyage reached to the mouth of the Gambia, which is less by nearly a fifth than the course assigned by Major Rennell.

CHAP. II.
Expedition to
Hindustan.

Appeal to
commercial
patronage.

the Nile was at one time contemplated. But the spirit of adventure was soon turned towards another object by the arrival of a native of Hindostan, whom one of the king's vessels had saved from shipwreck, and who offered to act as pilot in leading Eudoxus to that opulent and celebrated region. The latter, having performed the voyage to India prosperously, returned laden with wealth; and though not quite satisfied with the manner in which he was treated by Ptolemy, he yet undertook another expedition to the same quarter. On emerging from the Red Sea, he was driven by a storm upon the eastern coast of Africa, where he observed the land taking such a direction as inspired the idea that it might, by no vast circuit, lead round to the Straits of Gibraltar; and to be the circumnavigator of Africa became from that moment the object to which his life was devoted. On his return to Alexandria, he found that Euergetes was dead, and the new sovereign gave him still greater cause of complaint; for which reason he determined to trust no more to the precarious patronage of princes, but to make a general appeal to the commercial public. The merchants of Cadiz were thought most likely to embrace his views; and on his way thither he passed through Rhodes, Marseilles, and other great maritime states, calling upon all who were animated with the generous spirit of enterprise to accompany or to aid him in his undertaking. An extraordinary sensation seems to have been created in those commercial cities. Eudoxus easily assembled round him a considerable band of volunteers, and was enabled to equip amply and even splendidly two vessels, furnished with medical men and artisans of various descriptions, and even enlivened by a band of youthful musicians. With this array he passed the Straits, and turned his prow, as he imagined, towards India. But his gay crew, inspired by himself probably with too flattering hopes, seem to have anticipated only a smooth and holiday excursion. When, therefore, they saw themselves ranging along an unknown and dreary shore, against which beat the waves of the mighty Atlantic,

they were seized with panic. In vain did he urge the necessity of standing out to sea, as the only mode of successfully navigating his large and heavily-loaded ships; they obstinately insisted on his keeping close to land. The consequence was, as he had distinctly foretold, that the principal vessel was stranded upon one of those dangerous sand-banks which abound on the coast. The crew were so fortunate, however, as to convey ashore not only the cargo but the timbers, out of which Eudoxus, with a zeal that nothing could damp, contrived to construct another though smaller bark, in which he pursued the voyage. He came then to nations speaking a language which his fancy flattered him was the same that he had heard on the eastern coast of Africa. But at this moment, when he seemed on the eve of accomplishing his most sanguine expectations, the shattered state of his armament obliged him to return; retaining still the fullest confidence that, if the means could be found of equipping another, all his brilliant hopes would be realized. Disgusted, however, with his band of timid volunteers, he overcame his reluctance to royal patronage. He sought the precarious aid of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, who received him well, and ordered an expedition to be prepared; but meanwhile he was privately warned that this treacherous prince, instead of forwarding him on his voyage, intended that his people should land and leave him to perish on an uninhabited island. It does not appear what motive had given birth to so base a design; the Greek, however, with better means of judging than we have, believed it and fled. He made his next attempt in Spain, where he found no difficulty in equipping two other vessels, on board of which he placed seed-corn and materials for building, that, in case of necessity, he might land and raise a crop on a fertile little island observed at an advanced point of his former voyage. Here, very unluckily, Posidonius, Strabo's informant, stops short, and refers to the Spaniards and Gaditanians for farther information; but profound silence reigns on their part, and the world probably must remain for ever in darkness

CHAP. II.

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Panic of the
crew.

False pro-
mises of royal
patronage.

CHAP. II.

Incredulous
criticisms of
Strabo.

as to the issue of this last expedition. It must not be concealed that authors of great name, not excepting Strabo himself, have branded Eudoxus as a decided impostor,—a reproach which many of the most eminent discoverers have been destined to bear. This geographer is a most merciless critic ; but the authorities for the narrative are admitted to be good, and his several objections drawn from the internal evidence do not appear at all conclusive. Antiquity has put sundry fables into the mouth of the navigator, by which his reputation has severely suffered. According to certain accounts, he pretended to have really made the circuit of Africa ; to have visited some nations that were dumb ; others without tongues ; and one people who had no mouths, but received all their food by the nose. These are the wild exaggerations which, in a credulous age, a story undergoes in passing from one person to another. The descriptions of Strabo, collected from the best sources with a sceptical and even malignant scrutiny, contain none of those suspicious wonders, nor any event which at all exceeds the common course of nature.

Narrative of
Alexandrian
voyages.

A line of navigation along the eastern coast of Africa is described in a work of later date, written apparently after the establishment of the Roman power in Egypt. It is termed the *Periplus of the Erythræan (or Indian) Sea*, by an author whose name was Arrian ; but it comprises not so much the result of any individual adventure as a general view of the commercial voyages regularly made thither from Alexandria. After passing Abyssinia, the pilots shaped their course along a shore (that of the modern Berbera) abounding in a remarkable degree with myrrh, frankincense, and other odoriferous plants. They then reached Cape Aromata (Guardafui), which forms the termination of the Red Sea and the entrance into the Indian Ocean. The coast of Africa, in this latitude, afforded ivory in abundance, rhinoceros' horns, and tortoise-shell, the last of which was extremely fine ; and, in return for these, arms, wine, and corn were the most acceptable commodities. The voyage termi-

nated at a promontory and port called Rhapta,—a fact which of itself would show the extent of ancient navigation in this direction, could the learned agree where that town was situated ; but all the names being changed, and no observations of latitude having been made, it is difficult to fix the positions with certainty. Rhapta, according to Gosselin, was Magadoxo ; according to Vossius and Vincent it was at or near Quiloa, a place more than double the distance of the first from Cape Guardafui. On this point Dr Vincent seems clearly in the right. All the names are indeed altered, but the natural features remain the same. Now the seamen are in one place represented as passing successively the seven mouths of a large river at short distances from each other ; and these cannot possibly be found any where but in the series of estuaries on which Patta and Melinda are built, the principal of which is that of the Quillimane,—a conclusion which necessarily carries the situation of Rhapta southward to Quiloa. Ptolemy, who wrote probably a century later, gives the more remote position of Prasum as a promontory, port, and city, to which in his time merchants were accustomed to sail. We have no fact to guide us to the locality of that town, except that it was two or three hundred miles south-east from Rhapta. Gosselin makes it Brava ; but this is still short of the mouths of the seven rivers which afford the test for determining the situation of the several ports. Dr Vincent, again, would have Prasum to be Mozambique ; but though the coast runs south-east from Quiloa to Cape Delgado, from this last point to the island now named the direction is south, and even a little south-west. At or near Cape Delgado, therefore, must, it appears, be fixed the boundary of ancient navigation along the eastern coast of Africa.

CHAP. II.

Disputed site
of Rhapta.

Opinion of
Ptolemy.

CHAPTER III.

Settlements of the Arabs.

Their Influence on this Continent—Migration into Central Africa—Ghana—Tocrur—Kuku—Wangara—Ulil—Eastern Africa—Travels of Ibn Batuta—Description by Leo Africanus.

CHAP. III.
Moham-
medan
triumphs.

Saracenic
cultivation of
the arts and
sciences.

THE triumph of the followers of Mohammed, who in fifty years spread their arms and their creed over half the eastern world, produced an immense change in the social system of Asia, and a still greater in that of Africa. Their ascendancy at first was by no means inauspicious, and portended little of that deep darkness and barbarism in which it has since involved these two continents. After the first violences to which fanaticism prompted the more ardent converts, the Saracen sway assumed a milder aspect, and their princes cultivated the arts and even the sciences, with a zeal which had expired among the effeminate descendants of the Greeks and Romans. Even the remote Mauritania, which seemed doomed to be for ever the inheritance of a barbarous and nomadic race, was converted into a civilized empire; and its capital, Fez, became a distinguished school of learning. Their love of improvement reached even the most distant regions. They introduced the camel, which, though a native of the sandy wastes of Arabia, was equally adapted to the still more immense deserts that stretch so widely over Africa. Paths were opened through wilds, to penetrate which had hitherto defied all human efforts. An intercourse by means of caravans was formed with the interior countries, to obtain gold and slaves; and, amid the sanguinary disputes which afterwards arose among

CHAP III.

Number and
influence of
the Saracens

the descendants of the prophet, many, whose ill fortune exposed them to the enmity of successful rivals, sought refuge on the opposite side of the Great Desert. By successive migrations, they not only became numerous in Central Africa, but, from superior skill in the art of war, rose to be the ruling power. They founded several flourishing kingdoms in those parts of the continent, which Europeans vainly sought to reach till they were recently explored by our enterprising countrymen. Of these states Ghana was the most prosperous, forming the great market for gold, in search of which merchants repaired from the remotest regions. Its sovereign was acknowledged as supreme by all the neighbouring princes; while his court displayed a splendour, and was adorned with objects, hitherto unexampled in those regions. Among its ornaments were painting, sculpture, and glass windows; which, being before unknown, excited the surprise and admiration of the natives. The king, it is said, rode out attended by elephants and camelopards, tamed by an art then first introduced, but since lost. The inhabitants were also dazzled by the display of a mass of solid gold, weighing thirty pounds, with which the throne was embellished. This prince made a great profession of justice, going out twice every day, and presenting himself to all who wished to offer petition or complaint. The vicissitudes of fortune have subverted the kingdom of Ghana, and made its territory successively subject to Timbuctoo, Kashna, and Sackatoo; but our late travellers found it, under the changed name, or rather orthography, of Kano, still extensive and populous, and the chief seat of the interior commerce of Africa.

Royal State
at Ghana.

Tocrur, about twenty-four days' journey north-west of Ghana, was a kingdom inferior indeed to the other, yet powerful and independent. It carried on an extensive traffic with the people of the "remotest west," who brought shells and brass, for which in return they are said to have received gold and ornaments. Mention is made of the cotton cloths which still form the staple manufacture. Tocrur appears evidently to be Sackatoo

The kingdom
of Tocrur

CHAP. III. or Soccattoo, now the capital of an empire which comprehends Ghana and all the neighbouring countries. Indeed, in an official document communicated by Major Denham, we find this called the empire of *Takror*.

The kingdom
of Kuku.

Kuku, to the eastward of Ghana, forms another kingdom, on whose power and extent the Arabian writers largely dilate. The sovereign is said to have a very numerous train of attendants, and the people to be uncommonly warlike, though rude in their manners and attire. The merchants, at the same time, are represented as very richly dressed, and accustomed to visit and hold intercourse with the nobility. This country is manifestly Bornou, named from its capital, which still bears the same appellation. Twenty days' journey to the south was Kaugha, a city famous for industry and useful arts, and the women of which were renowned for their skill in the secrets of magic. Though the resemblance of name is rather imperfect, this seems to be Denham's Loggun, much celebrated by him for its ingenious labours and fine manufactures, as well as for the intelligence of its females; and among a rude people wit and witchcraft are always imagined to have a close connexion.

The district
of Wangara.

To the south of Ghana lay Wangara, a district said to have contained gold, the commodity for which African commerce was so much prized. This region is described as intersected and overflowed during the rainy season by the branches of the Nile (of the Negroes, or Niger), which impregnate the earth with the sand whence this precious metal is extracted. As soon as the waters have retired, the inhabitants eagerly dig the ground, and every one finds more or less, "according to the gift of God." But there seems to be some confusion of ideas about this country and its golden products. A district in the southern part of Soudan is called Oongoroo, or Ungura, though it no longer furnishes gold; nor is Ghana at the present day the market for that valuable staple of Central Africa. In the mountainous countries to the south-west this metal is still collected abundantly, in the very manner mentioned by the Arabian writers.

The whole range of Alpine territory to the southward of the regions now described was called Lamlam, and presented a continued scene of barbarous violence. It was branded as the land of the infidels,—of a people to whom none of the charities of life were due, and against whom the passions of cruelty and of avarice might be gratified without remorse. Expeditions or slave-hunts were therefore made into those unfortunate countries; when, after the most bloody conflicts, numerous victims were seized, carried off, and sold to the merchants of Northern Africa, who conveyed them to all parts of the eastern world. The same cruel and iniquitous traffic is carried on in a similar manner, and with unabated activity, at the present day.

Respecting Western Africa, the Arabians do not seem to have been very accurately informed. They describe the Atlantic as only about five hundred miles beyond Tocrur, although two thousand would have been nearer the truth; perhaps they mistook the great lake Dibbie for the sea. They mention the Island of Ulil, whence were brought great quantities of salt, an article in constant demand throughout Soudan. Though called an island, it was probably Walet, the great interior market for that mineral; but all the features of the country around and beyond it seem to have been confusedly blended together by the Mohammedan authors.

Imperfect
knowledge
of the
Arabians.

At the time when the Arabian geographers flourished, the Christian religion was professed, not only in Abyssinia, but even to the northern frontier of Nubia, at Syene. The bigotry and dislike produced by hostile creeds not only deprived these writers of the means of information, but led them to view with contempt every thing relating to countries accounted infidel. Their notices, therefore, of the regions in the Upper Nile, and along the western shores of the Red Sea, are exceedingly meagre. It was otherwise, indeed, with the eastern coast of Africa on the Indian Ocean; for the people of southern Arabia, who were then actively employed in commerce and navigation, had not only explored, but formed establishments

Influence of
hostile
creeds.

CHAP. III.

at Mombaza, Melinda, Mozambique, and at all the leading points on that coast ; which were still found in their possession by the early Portuguese navigators.

Information
from Arabic
literature.

For this general view of Central Africa in the twelfth century we are indebted to Edrisi, Abulfeda, Ibn-al-Vardi, and other writers, who do not however pretend to have visited the regions which they describe. Arabic literature has, notwithstanding, been also enriched by the productions of some eminent travellers : Wahab and Abuzaid, in the ninth century, penetrated into China, and communicated to the western world the first distinct idea of that remarkable empire and its people. Their career, however, was far surpassed in the fourteenth century by Ibn Batuta, a learned Mohammedan, who traversed the continents of Asia and Africa from the Eastern Ocean to the banks of the Niger. For a knowledge of his narrative the English public have recently been indebted to the learned labours of Professor Lee of Cambridge, as a member of the Society for Oriental Translation. Unfortunately he could only procure the work in a very abridged form, which renders it more an object of curiosity than fitted to convey full information as to the state of the world at that early period.

Ibn Batuta

His great
expedition
through
Central
Africa.

It was from Fez that Ibn Batuta commenced his great peregrination through Interior Africa. He went first to Segilmissa, which he describes as a handsome town, situated in a territory abounding with date-trees. Having joined a caravan, he came, after a journey of twenty-five days, to Thaghari, which some manuscripts make Tagaza, evidently the Tegazza of Leo, supposed by Major Rennell to be the modern Tisheet, containing the mine whence Timbuctoo is chiefly supplied with salt. To our traveller the place seemed to contain no object desirable or agreeable ; there was nothing but salt ; the houses were built with slabs of that mineral, and roofed with the hides of camels. It even appeared to him that Nature had lodged this commodity in regular tables in the mine, fitted for being conveyed to a distance ; but he probably overlooked an artificial process by which it is usually

brought into this form. From Thaghari he went in twenty days to Tashala, three days beyond which commenced a desert of the most dreary aspect, where there was neither water, bird, nor tree,—“nothing but sand and hills of sand.” In ten days he came to Abu Latin, a large commercial town, crowded with merchants from various quarters of the continent. The manners of the people, as is indeed too common in the scenes of inland traffic throughout Africa, appeared to him very licentious, and wholly destitute of that decorum which usually marks a Mussulman residence. The women maintained a greater share of respectability than the other sex; yet this did not prevent their hiring themselves as temporary wives to those whom the pursuits of trade induced to visit the place. Professor Lee has not hazarded a conjecture what town this is; but, on finding it in one manuscript called Ayulatin, and in another Ewelatin, we think there is no doubt of its being Walet, which lay directly in the route of our traveller, and is the only great city in that quarter of Africa.

Observations
on native
customs and
manners.

From Abu Latin the adventurer proceeded in twenty-four days to Mali, then the most flourishing country and city in that part of the continent. This is evidently the Melli of Leo, who described it as situated on a river to the south of Timbuctoo; but it is not easy to identify it with any modern position. Our traveller makes heavy complaints of the inhospitable spirit and narrow bounty of an African potentate in this district. Waiting upon his majesty, and being informed that a present was on its way to him, he feasted his imagination on the idea of some rich dress or golden ornament; instead of which, the whole consisted of a crust of bread, a dried fish, and sour milk. He had the boldness to remonstrate with the king about this beggarly donation, declaring, that, in the course of travelling over the whole world, he had never received the like; and his majesty, instead of being incensed, began to extend to him some measure of generosity. Ibn Batuta, however, was disgusted by the abject homage paid to this monarch, as it still is to the native princes

Visit to Mali

Royal
present.

CHAP. III.

Abject
homage of
African
courtiers.

of Africa ; the courtiers, as they approached, casting dust on their heads, throwing themselves prostrate and grovelling on the earth,—a degradation which he had never witnessed in the most despotic courts of the East. Yet justice is admitted to have been most strictly administered, and property perfectly secure ; as a proof of which, merchants from the most distant country, who died at Mali, were as assured of leaving their inheritance to their posterity as if it had been deposited at home. The traveller was astonished by the immense size of the trees in this region, in the hollow trunk of one of which he observed a weaver plying his trade.

Ideas of the
course of the
Niger.

Ibn Batuta in this part of his journey saw the Niger ; and the view necessarily led to a conclusion opposite to that hitherto entertained by his countrymen, who considered it as flowing westward to the ocean. Having no opportunity of making a complete observation, he fell into the opposite error, since prevalent in Northern Africa, and identified it with the Nile. He supposed it to flow by Timbuctoo, Kawkaw (Kuku ?), Yuwi (seemingly the Yeou), and then by Nubia to Egypt.

From Mali he turned northward to Timbuctoo. This city, which was then subject to the former, was governed by a negro viceroy, and was far from possessing the celebrity and importance which it has since attained. The town was chiefly peopled by merchants from Latham ; but what particular country that was, it appears now impossible to determine. He next proceeded eastward by Kawkaw, Bardama, and Nakda, where he seems to have been near Nubia, but gives no farther details till he again arrived at Fez.

Leo Afri-
canus of
Granada.

About two centuries after Ibn Batuta, a very full description of Africa was furnished by a geographer named Leo, who was even honoured with the surname of Africanus. He was a native of Granada ; but having, after the capture of that city by Ferdinand, repaired to Fez, he acquired in that once eminent school a knowledge of Arabic learning and of the African continent. He afterwards travelled through a great part of the interior, and

having made his way to Rome, wrote his description of it under the auspices of Leo X. It appears that, since the time of Edrisi, one of those revolutions to which barbarous states are liable had greatly changed the aspect of these countries. Timbuctoo, which at the former period either did not exist, or was not thought worthy of mention, had now risen to be the most powerful of the internal kingdoms, and the great centre of commerce and wealth. Ghana, once possessed of imperial greatness, had already changed its name to Kano, and consented to become tributary to it. Bornou appears under its present appellation; and several sovereignties which have since held a conspicuous rank are mentioned for the first time;—Casena or Cassina (Kashna), Zegzeg, Zanfara, and Guber. Gago, represented as being four hundred miles south-east of Timbuctoo, is evidently Eyeo, lately visited by Clapperton. Ghinea or Ghineoa, described as a city of great commerce and splendour, has been supposed to be Ghana; but we think it is evidently Jenne, which Park found to be the largest and most flourishing place in Bambarra. At Timbuctoo many merchants were extremely opulent, and two of them had obtained princesses in marriage. Literature was cultivated with ardour, and manuscripts bore a higher price than any other commodity. Izchia, the king, who had subdued all the neighbouring countries, maintained an army of 3000 horse, and a numerous infantry, partly armed with poisoned arrows. Gold, for which his capital had now become the chief mart, was lavishly employed in the embellishment of his court and person. He displayed solid masses, larger even than the one at Ghana, and some of his ornaments weighed 1300 ounces. The royal palace and several mosques were handsomely built of stone; but the ordinary habitations, as in all Central Africa, were merely bell-shaped huts, the materials of which were stakes, clay, and reeds.

CHAP. III.

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Rise of the
kingdom of
Timbuctoo.

Wealth and
Literature.

CHAPTER IV.

Portuguese Discoveries.

Rise of the Spirit of Discovery—Voyages along the Western Coast—The Senegal—Prince Bemoy—Discovery of the Congo—Numerous Missionaries sent out—Superstitions of the Natives.

CHAP. IV.

Apathy of
Medieval
Europe.

EUROPE during ten centuries, affected by the decline of the Roman empire, the irruption of the barbarous nations, and the operation of the rude systems of feudal polity, remained sunk in profound apathy respecting all objects relating to science, discovery, and distant commerce. The splendour of the Crescent for a short interval outshone whatever was brightest in the Christian world ; and the courts of Bagdad, Fez, and Cordova, were more refined and more enlightened than those of London and Paris. At a somewhat early period, it is true, the Hanse Towns and the Italian republics began to cultivate manufactures and commerce, and to lay the foundation of a still higher prosperity ; but they carried on chiefly an inland or coasting trade. The naval efforts, even of Venice and Genoa, had no farther aim than to bring from Alexandria and the shores of the Black Sea the commodities of India, which had been conveyed thither chiefly by caravans over land. Satisfied with the wealth and power to which they had been raised by this limited commerce, these celebrated commonwealths made no attempt to open a more extended path over the ocean. Their pilots, indeed, guided most of the vessels engaged in the early voyages of discovery ; but they were em-

Early naval
efforts.

ployed, and the means furnished, by the great monarchs whose ports were situated upon the shores of the Atlantic.

CHAP. IV.

About the end of the fifteenth century, the human mind began to make a grand movement in every direction, especially in religion, science, industry, and freedom. It eagerly sought, not only to break loose from that thralldom in which it had been bound for so many ages, but to rival and even surpass all that had been achieved during the most brilliant eras of antiquity. These high aims were peculiarly directed to the department of maritime discovery. The invention of the compass, the skill of the Venetian and Genoese pilots, and the knowledge transmitted from former times, inspired all classes with the hope of being able to pass the ancient barriers, and to throw light upon regions hitherto unknown. Portugal, a nation of comparatively small resources, started first in this career, and took the lead, for a certain time, of all the European states. During the reign of its kings, John and Emanuel, it stood pre-eminent in enterprise and intelligence; and Prince Henry in particular, a younger son of John I., devoted all his thoughts to the promotion of naval undertakings. No idea, however, was yet entertained by them of the new world afterwards discovered by the daring spirit of Columbus. The local position of their country, its wars and expeditions against Morocco, led to the idea that the western border of Africa was the best field for research. The information respecting this coast was still very limited; so that the passage of Cape Bojador by Gilianez, in 1433, caused a surprise and admiration almost equal to what were afterwards excited by the discovery of America. A rapid progress was then made along the shore of the Sahara, and the Portuguese navigators were not long in reaching the fertile regions watered by the Senegal and the Gambia.

Revival in the fifteenth century.

Early pre-eminence of Portugal.

The early part of this progress was dreary in the extreme, for the mariners saw only naked rocks and burning sands, stretching immeasurably into the interior, and affording no encouragement to any project of settlement.

Unattractive regions first visited.

CHAP. IV. Beyond Cape Blanco, however, Nuno Tristan, in 1443, discovered the Island of Arguin ; and, notwithstanding the disaster of Gonzalo da Cintra, who, in 1445, was killed by a party of Moors, the Portuguese made it for some time their principal establishment. The country was far from presenting a brilliant aspect, though visited by caravans of the “ Brabariis and Luddaias ” (the people of Bambarra and Ludamar), who gave a very favourable report of the interior regions. Besides the expected accession to the power and splendour of their monarchy, the settlers cherished another object still more fondly : They hoped to open an intercourse with a prince, of whom they had heard much under the mysterious appellation of Prester John. This singular name seems to have been first introduced by travellers from Eastern Asia, where it had been applied to some Nestorian bishop, who held there a species of sovereignty ; and when rumours arrived of the Christian king of Abyssinia, he was concluded to be the famed royal priest. His dominions being represented as stretching far inland, and the breadth of the continent being very imperfectly understood, the conclusion was formed, that a mission from the western coast might easily reach his capital. What were the precise expectations from an intercourse with this personage does not fully appear ; but it seems to have been thoroughly rooted in the minds of the navigators, that they would be raised to a matchless height of glory and felicity, if they could by any means arrive at his court. The principal instruction given to all officers employed in African service was, that in every quarter and by every means, they should endeavour to effect this grand discovery. They accordingly never failed to put the question to all the wanderers of the Desert, and to every caravan that came from the interior, —but in vain, the name had never been heard. The Portuguese then besought the natives, at all events, into whatever region they might travel, studiously to inquire if Prester John was there, or if any one knew where his residence might be found ; and, on the promise

Island of
Arguin dis-
covered.

The fabulous
Prester John.

Strange aim
of dis-
coverers.

of a splendid recompense in case of success, this was readily undertaken. CHAP. IV.

In 1446, Diniz Fernandez discovered Cape Verd, and in the following year Lancelot entered the Senegal ; and in this neighbourhood the mariners found fertile and populous regions, that promised to reward their exertions much more effectually than the visionary name after which they had so eagerly inquired. A circumstance occurred also, most convenient for monarchs who contemplate an extension of dominion : Bemoy, a prince of the Jaloff nation, came to Arguin, complaining that he had been driven from the throne, and entreating the aid of the strangers to enable him to recover his crown, which he was willing to wear as their ally, and even as their vassal. He was received with open arms, and conveyed to Lisbon, where he experienced a brilliant reception, his visit being celebrated by all the festal exhibitions peculiar to that age,—bull-fights, puppet-shows, and even feats of dogs. On this occasion he made a display of the agility of his native attendants, who, on foot, kept pace with the swiftest horses, mounting and alighting from these animals at full gallop. After being instructed in the Christian religion, he was baptized, and did homage to the King and to the Pope for the diadem which was to be placed on his head ; for this purpose a powerful armament, under the command of Pero Vaz d'Acunha, was sent out with him to the banks of the Senegal.

Discovery of
Cape Verd.

Reception of
Prince
Bemoy at
Lisbon.

The conclusion of this adventure was extremely tragical, for, a quarrel having arisen between Bemoy and the commander, the latter stabbed the prince on board of his vessel. Whether this violent deed was prompted by the heat of passion, or by well-grounded suspicions as to the fidelity of the African, was never fully investigated ; but the king learned the event with deep regret, and, in consequence, gave up his design of building a fort on the Senegal. He made, however, no pause in his indefatigable efforts to trace the abode of Prester John. Ambassadors were sent into the interior, and, according to

Tragical fate
of the Prince.

CHAP. IV.
Expeditions
to the
interior.

De Barros, even as far as Timbuctoo. All endeavours proved vain as to the primary object ; but the travellers thereby gained a more complete knowledge of this part of Interior Africa than was afterwards attained in Europe till a very recent period. Most of this intelligence, however, has either perished, or still remains locked up in the archives of the Lusitanian monarchy.

The Gold
Coast dis-
covered.

The Portuguese continued to prosecute African discovery till, in 1471, they reached the Gold Coast, where, dazzled by the importance and splendour of the commodity, the commerce in which gave name to that region, they built Elmina (the mine), making it the capital of their possessions in this continent. Pushing onward to Benin, they received a curious account of an embassy said to be sent, at the accession of every new prince, to the court of a sovereign called Ogane, residing seven or eight hundred miles in the interior. When the ambassadors were introduced, a silk curtain shrouded the monarch from their view, till the moment of their departure, when the royal foot was graciously put forth from under the vail, and "reverence done to it as to a holy thing." This statement greatly excited the curiosity of the discoverers, to whom it appeared that this mysterious potentate was more likely than any they had yet heard of to be Prester John. Who this Ogane really was has been a subject of much doubt and discussion.

Title to new
discoveries.

The Portuguese had for some time been desirous to frame a title to this extensive coast, part of which they had now examined. They appealed chiefly to the religion, or rather to the superstition, of the age. The maxim had been early established, that whatever country should be conquered from infidel nations was to be held the property of the victors. This claim was rendered available by a grant obtained from the Pope, assigning to them in full dominion all lands which should be discovered beyond Cape Bojador, and in their farther progress eastward. Hence, after the establishment at Elmina, the king no longer hesitated to assume the pompous title of Lord of Guinea, and instructed his commanders that,

instead of the wooden cross hitherto erected in token of conquest, they should raise pillars of stone double the height of a man, with suitable inscriptions, surmounted by crucifixes inlaid with lead. In 1484, Diego Cam sailed from Elmina in quest of new shores on which this emblem of national dominion might be planted. After passing Cape St Catherine, he found himself involved in a very strong current setting out from the land, which was still distant ; though the water, when tasted, was ascertained to be fresh. It was conjectured, therefore, that he was near the mouth of a great river, which proved to be the fact, and is now well known under the name of the Zaire or Congo. Diego, on reaching its southern bank, erected his first monument,—an event considered so memorable, that the stream itself has often, by Portuguese writers, been termed the “River of the Pillar.” He ascended its borders, opened an intercourse with the inhabitants, and inquired after the residence of their sovereign. They pointed to a place at a considerable distance in the interior, and undertook to guide thither a mission, which they pledged themselves, within a stipulated period, to lead back in safety. As the natives meantime passed and repassed on the most intimate footing, Diego took advantage of a moment when several of the principal persons were on board his ship, weighed anchor, and stood out to sea. He soothed the alarm visible in the countenances of their countrymen on shore, by signs, intimating that this step was taken solely to gratify the anxious desire of his sovereign to see and converse with these African chiefs ; that in fifteen moons they would certainly be brought back, and that meanwhile a number of his people should be left as hostages. He then sailed to Lisbon, where he introduced with triumph these living trophies of his discovery ; and the king, who was much pleased, held many conversations with the Congo princes, whom he loaded with honours, and caused to be conveyed back at the appointed period to the shores of the Zaire. On Diego’s arrival in that river, it was highly gratifying to see, waiting on the bank, the part of his

CHAP IV.

Voyage of
Diego Cam.

Carrying off
of the
native
princes.

Reception at
Lisbon.

CHAP. IV.

Return to the
Zaire.

crew whom he had left as pledges, and respecting whom he had felt some anxiety. He was invited to court, where the sovereign not only received him with kindness, but agreed to embrace Christianity, and to send several of his nobles to Europe, to be instructed in its principles. They sailed accordingly, and this new arrival of Congo chiefs of the first rank gave fresh satisfaction at Lisbon. They remained two years, experiencing the very best treatment ; and, on being considered ripe for baptism, the king stood godfather to the principal envoy, and his chief courtiers to others ; on which occasion the Africans received the names of the persons by whom they had been thus honoured.

Expedition
of Ruy de
Sousa.

In 1490, a new armament, guided by Ruy de Sousa, conveyed back the new converts to their native country, and the Portuguese, on their arrival, were received by the monarch in full pomp. The native troops approached in three lines, making so prodigious a noise with horns, kettledrums, and other instruments, and raising shouts so tremendous, as to surpass all that the Europeans had ever witnessed in Catholic processions and invocations to the saints. The king himself, who was seated in the midst of a large park, upon an ivory chair raised on a platform, was dressed in rich and glossy skins of wild beasts, a bracelet of brass hanging from his left arm, a horse's tail from his shoulder, and on his head a bonnet of fine cloth woven from the palm-tree. He gave full permission to erect a church ; and, when murmurs were heard from a few of his attendants, he instantly offered to put them to death on the spot ; but his visitors laudably dissuaded him from so violent a step. He himself and all his nobles were forthwith baptized ; and the freest scope was allowed to the exertions of the missionaries. These churchmen seem to have been really animated with a very devoted and persevering zeal ; but they had unfortunately conceived an incorrect idea of what they came to teach, and, instead of inculcating the pure doctrines and precepts of Christianity, merely amused the people with empty and childish exhibitions. The presentation

Native re-
ception of
Christianity

of beads, Agni Dei, images of the Madonna and saints ; the splendid processions ; the rich furniture and solemn ceremonies of the church,—dazzled the eyes of the savage natives, and made them view the gospel only as a gay and pompous pageant, in which it would be an amusement to join. The sacrament of baptism, to which the Catholics attach great importance, was chiefly recommended by a part of the ritual that consisted in putting into the mouth a certain quantity of salt, which in Congo is an extremely rare and valued commodity ; and the missionaries were not a little disconcerted to find that the very form by which the natives expressed the holy ordinance was “to eat salt.” Thus an immense body of the people were very speedily baptized and called Christians, but without any idea of the duties and obligations which that sacred name imposes. There was, however, one point which their new teachers soon began very conscientiously, though perhaps in rather too hasty and peremptory a manner, to enforce. Appalled by the host of wives that surrounded every African prince or chief, and whom, as they fulfilled for him all public as well as domestic services, it had been his constant study to multiply, they called upon their converts to select one, and to make a sweeping dismissal of the rest. This was considered an unwarrantable inroad on one of the most venerated institutions of the realm of Congo ; and to the aged monarch the privation appeared so intolerable, that he thereupon renounced his Christian profession, and plunged again into the abyss of pagan superstition. Happily, Alphonso, the youthful heir-apparent, seeing nothing so dreadful in the sacrifice, cheerfully submitted to it, and, braving his father’s displeasure, remained attached to the Portuguese. The old king dying soon after, his zealous son became entitled to ascend the throne ; but his brother, Panso Aquitimo, supported by the nobles and almost the whole nation, raised the standard of revolt in support of polygamy and paganism. A civil war ensued, in which the prince had little more than a handful of Europeans to oppose to the innumerable host of his rebellious countrymen ; how-

CHAP. IV.

Nominal
native conversion.

Interference
with native
Polygamy.

Civil war
engendered.

CHAP. IV.

Supposed
miraculous
victories.

ever, in consequence, as his adherents believed, of the apparition in the clouds, at one time of St James, and at another of the Virgin Mary, he always came off victorious. Doubtless the better arms and discipline of his allies rendered them superior in the field to the tumultuary host of their rude assailants.

Missionary
establish-
ment at
Congo.

Alphonso being thus firmly seated on his throne, the missionaries for a time secured a safe and comfortable establishment in Congo. Being reinforced by successive bodies of their brethren, they spread over the neighbouring countries, Sundi, Pango, Concobella, Maopongo, many tracts of which were rich and populous, though the state of society was in general extremely rude. Every where their career was nearly similar: the people gave them the most cordial reception, flocked in crowds to witness and to share in the pomp of their ceremonies, accepted with thankfulness their sacred gifts, and received by thousands the rite of baptism. They were not, however, on this account, prepared to renounce their ancient habits and superstitions. The inquisition, which was speedily introduced into their domestic arrangements, caused a sudden revulsion; and the papal agents thenceforth maintained only a precarious and even a perilous position. They were much reproached, it appears, for the rough and violent methods employed to effect their pious purposes; and though they treat the accusation as most unjust, some of the proceedings, of which they boast with the greatest satisfaction, tend not a little to countenance the charge. When, for example, they could not persuade the people to renounce their superstitions, they used a large staff, with which they threw down the idols and beat them in pieces: they even sometimes stole secretly into the temples and set them on fire. A member of their order at Maopongo, having met one of the queens, and finding her inaccessible to all his instructions, determined to use sharper remedies, and, seizing a whip, began to apply it to her majesty's person. The effect he describes as most auspicious; every successive blow opened her eyes more and more to the truth, and she at

Introduction
of the inqui-
sition.

Violent mode
of converting
a native
queen.

length declared herself wholly unable to resist such forcible arguments in favour of the Catholic doctrine. She hastened to the king, however, with loud complaints respecting this mode of spiritual illumination, and the missionaries thenceforth lost all favour both with that prince and the ladies of his court, being allowed to remain solely from dread of their countrymen. In only one other instance were they permitted to employ this mode of conversion. The smith, in consequence of the skill, strange in the eyes of a rude people, with which he manufactured various arms and implements, was supposed to possess a measure of superhuman power; and he had thus been encouraged to advance pretensions to the character of a divinity, which were very generally admitted. The missionaries appealed to the king respecting this impious assumption; and that prince, conceiving it to interfere with the respect due to himself, agreed to deliver into their hands the unfortunate mechanic, to be converted into a mortal in any manner they might judge efficacious. After a short and unsuccessful argument, they had recourse to their usual potent instrument of conversion; yet Vulcan, deserted in this extremity by all his votaries, made still a firm stand for his celestial dignity, till the blood began to stream from his back and shoulders, when he finally yielded, and renounced all pretensions to a divine origin.

CHAP. IV.

Missionary
loss of
favour.

Dealings
with a native
smith.

Farther acquaintance discovered other irregularities among the natives, against which a painful struggle was to be maintained. Before marriage the two parties lived together for some time, and made trial of each other's tempers and inclinations before concluding the final engagement. To this system of probation the people were most obstinately attached, and the missionaries in vain denounced it, calling upon them at once either to marry or to separate. The young ladies were always the most anxious to have the full benefit of this experimental process; and the mothers, on being referred to, refused to incur responsibility, and expose themselves to the reproaches of their daughters, by urging them to an

Interference
with national
customs.

CHAP. IV.
 —
 Zeal of the
 Missionaries.

Pagan and
 Popish
 charms.

Magical
 ordeal.

abridgment of the trial, of which they might afterwards repent. The missionaries seem to have been most diligent in the task, as they call it, of "reducing strayed souls to matrimony." Father Benedict succeeded with no fewer than six hundred ; but he found it such laborious work, that he fell sick and died. Another subject of deep regret respected the many superstitious practices still prevalent, even among those who exhibited some sort of Christian profession. Sometimes the children brought for baptism were bound with magic cords, to which the mothers, as an additional security from evil, had fastened beads, relics, and figures of the Agnus Dei. The chiefs, in like manner, while they gladly availed themselves of the protection promised from the wearing of crucifixes and images of the Virgin, were unprepared to part with the enchanted rings and other pagan amulets with which they had been accustomed to form a panoply around their persons. In case of dangerous illness, sorcery had been always contemplated as the main or sole remedy, and those who rejected its use were reproached as rather allowing their sick relations to die than incur the expense of a conjurer. But the most general and pernicious application of magic was made in judicial proceedings. When a charge was advanced against any individual, no one ever thought of inquiring into the facts, or of collecting evidence,—every case was decided by preternatural tests. The magicians prepared a beverage, which produced on the guilty person, according to the measure of his iniquity, spasms, fainting, or death, but left the innocent quite free from harm. It seems a sound conclusion of the missionaries, that the draught was modified according to the good or ill will of the practitioner, or the liberality of the supposed culprit. This trial, called the *bolungo*, was indeed renounced by the king, but only to substitute another, in which the accused was made to bend over a large basin of water, when, if he fell in, it was concluded that he was guilty. At other times a bar of red-hot iron was passed along the leg, or the arm was thrust into scalding water ; and, if the

natural effects followed, the person's head was immediately struck off. Snail-shells, applied to the temples, if they stuck, inferred guilt. When a dispute arose between man and man, the plan was to place shells on the head of each, and make them stoop, when he from off whose head the shell first dropped had a verdict found against him. While we wonder at the deplorable ignorance on which these practices were founded, we must not forget that the "*judgments of God*," as they were termed, employed by our ancestors during the middle ages, were founded on the same unenlightened views, and were in some cases strictly identical.

CHAP. IV

Singular tests of guilt.

Other powers of still higher name held sway over the deluded minds of the people of Congo. Some ladies of rank went about beating a drum, with dishevelled hair, and pretending to work magical cures; there was also a race of mighty conjurers, called Scingilli, who had the power of giving and withdrawing rain at pleasure; and they had a king called Ganja Chitorne, or God of the Earth, to whom its first fruits were regularly offered. This person never died; but when tired of his sway on earth, he nominated a successor, and killed himself,—a step, doubtless, prompted by the zeal of his followers, when they saw any danger of his reputation for immortality being compromised. This class argued strongly in favour of their vocation, as not only useful, but absolutely essential, since without it the earth would be deprived of those influences by which alone it was enabled to minister to the wants of man. The people accordingly viewed with the deepest alarm any idea of giving offence to beings whose wrath might be displayed in devoting the land to utter sterility.

Native conjurers and magicians.

We do not possess any record of the period or the manner in which the Portuguese and their missionaries were expelled from Congo; but Captain Tuckey's late expedition did not find on the banks of the Zaire any trace or even recollection of either.

Temporary influence of the Portuguese.

CHAPTER V.

Early English Discoveries.

Decline of Portuguese Maritime Power—Company formed in England to explore the Gambia—Richard Thompson—His Death—Jobson's Voyage up the Gambia—Manners of the Native Africans—Vermuyden—Stibbs.

CHAP. V.

Portuguese
claims to
Africa.

THE Portuguese, while they bore away the palm of maritime enterprise from all other nations, considered Africa especially as a region which they had won for themselves, and had covered with trophies of discovery and victory ; but, after being subjected to the cruel and degrading yoke of Philip II. of Spain, they lost all their spirit and energy. Under the same influence they became involved in hostility with the Dutch, who had risen to the first rank as a naval people, and whose armaments successively stripped them of their most important possessions in this continent as well as in the East Indies. In 1637, Elmina itself, their capital, fell into the hands of those bold and successful rivals ; and at present the boasted lords and rulers of Guinea have not an acre left of their dominions along the whole western coast. They retain only the Madeiras, the Cape Verd, and other islands, which certainly are not destitute of beauty, nor even of some degree of political and commercial value.

Results of
Dutch enter-
prise.

The Hollanders did not long remain undisputed masters of the seas. The glorious and splendid results which had arisen from the discovery of the East and West Indies, caused the ocean to be generally viewed as the great theatre where wealth and glory were to be gained. The French and English nations, whose turn it was to

take the lead in European affairs, pressed eagerly forward in this career, endeavouring at once to surpass their predecessors and each other. Many African settlements were formed with the view of securing a supply of slaves for their West India possessions; but a more distant, more innocent, and more brilliant object also attracted their attention. Flattering reports had reached Europe of the magnitude of the gold trade carried on at Timbuctoo and along the Niger; and letters were even received from Morocco, representing its treasures as surpassing those of Mexico and Peru. On that side, indeed, the immense Desert and its barbarous inhabitants rendered the central regions almost inaccessible;—but there was another channel which appeared to open the fairest and most tempting prospects. According to all the geographical systems of that age, the great river Joliba, flowing through the interior of the continent, and by whose alluvion its plains were covered with gold, was understood to empty itself into the Atlantic, either by the Senegal or Gambia, or, as was more commonly supposed, by both these channels imagined to be branches proceeding from the great stream. By ascending either accordingly, it seemed possible to reach Timbuctoo and the country of gold; and this became a favourite object with several European nations.

CHAP. V.
Slave settle-
ments.

The central
gold regions.

In 1618, a company was formed in England for the purpose of exploring the Gambia. They sent out that same year Richard Thompson, a person of spirit and enterprise, in charge of the Catherine of 120 tons, with a cargo worth nearly two thousand pounds sterling. In the month of December he entered the river; and proceeding as high as Kassan, a fortified town, where he left most of his crew, he pushed on in boats. The Portuguese, who were still numerous in that district, and retained all their lofty claims, were seized with bitter jealousy at this expedition made by a foreign and rival power. Led on by Hector Nunez, they furiously attacked the party left at Kassan, and succeeded in making a general massacre of our countrymen. Thompson, on

English
exploring
company.

CHAP. V.

Perseverance
of the
English
adventurers.

learning these dreadful tidings, although unable to make any effort to avenge the slaughter of his people, still maintained his station on the river, and sent home the most encouraging accounts of the general prospects of the undertaking. The company listened to his statement, and despatched another vessel, which unfortunately arrived at an improper season, and lost most of the crew by sickness. Even yet they were not dismayed; but, retaining their ardour unabated, fitted out a third and larger expedition, consisting of the *Sion* of 200 tons, and the *St John* of 50, and gave the command to Richard Jobson, to whom we are indebted for the first satisfactory account of the great river-districts of Western Africa.

Fate of
Richard
Thompson.

This officer entered the Gambia in November 1620; but what was his dismay on receiving the tidings that Thompson had perished by the hands of his own men! Mutiny was then a frequent occurrence in those dangerous and distant services; but how it arose in this case, or who was to blame, was never duly investigated. The crew are said to have been unanimous in representing the conduct of their leader as oppressive and intolerable; but, in regard to a man of undoubted spirit and enterprise, and who fell the first of so many victims in the cause of African discovery, we should not receive too readily the report of those who had so deep an interest in painting his character in the darkest colours.

Spirit displayed by
Richard
Jobson.

Jobson, notwithstanding the shock caused by this intelligence, did not suffer himself to be discouraged, but, pushing briskly up the river, soon arrived at Kassan. The Portuguese inhabitants in general had fled before his arrival, whilst the few who remained, professed in respect to Hector Nunez and the massacre committed by him, an ignorance, and even a horror, for which he gave them very little credit. He had reason, on the contrary, to believe that they were forming a scheme of attack, and even urging the natives to rise against the English; and such was the dread of their machinations that scarcely any one could be prevailed on to

act as his pilot. Notwithstanding these suspicions and alarms, he still pursued his course; but after passing the falls of Barraconda he found himself involved in great difficulties: The ascent was to be made against a rapid current; the frequency of hidden rocks made it dangerous to sail in the night; and they often struck upon sand-banks and shallows, when it was necessary for the crew to strip and go into the water, in order to push the boat over these obstacles. They were once obliged to carry it a mile and a half, till they found a deeper channel.

CHAP. V.

Passage of
the rapids of
the Gambia.

The discoverers now beheld an entirely new world, and a novel aspect of nature. On every side were immense forests of unknown trees, while both the land and the water were inhabited by multitudes of savage animals, whose roarings every night resounded through the air. Sometimes twenty crocodiles were seen together in the stream, and, their voices, calling as it were to each other, resembled the "sound of a deep well," and might be heard at the distance of a league. Sea-horses also were observed tossing and snorting in every pool; while elephants appeared in such numbers on the shore, that, at one place, there were sixteen in a single troop. These last animals were an object of great terror to the natives, of whom only a few durst attack them with their long poisoned lances and assagays; but whenever the English made a movement against them, they fled like forest-deer, and by their swiftness eluded all pursuit. Three balls were lodged in one individual, which made off, but was afterwards found dead by the negroes. Lions, ounces, and leopards, were also seen at a little distance; but amid the alarms inspired by these formidable creatures, the sailors were amused by observing the various evolutions of the monkey tribe. The baboons marched along, occasionally in herds of several thousands with some of the tallest in front, under the guidance of a leader, the lesser following behind, while a band of larger size brought up the rear. "Thus do they march on, and are very bold." At night, as they took their stand upon

Wild beasts
and croco-
diles.

Monkeys and
baboons.

CHAP V.

Anger at the intruders.

the hills, filling the air with confused cries, "one great voice would exalt itself, and the rest were all hushed." They mounted the trees to look at the English, the sight of whom seemed to inspire dissatisfaction ; they grinned, shook the boughs violently, uttered angry cries, and when any advances were made towards acquaintance, ran off at full speed. The crew shot one ; but before they could reach the spot, the rest had carried it away. On tracing these creatures to their haunts in the depths of the forest, recesses were found, where the foliage had been so intertwined above, and the ground beaten so smooth beneath, as made it difficult to believe that these "bowers for dancing and disport" had not been framed by human hands.

Reception at Tenda.

Amid these difficulties and adventures the party arrived at Tenda, on the 26th January 1621, where they expected to meet with Buckar Sano, the chief merchant on the Gambia. This personage accordingly waited on them ; but, being treated with brandy, used it so immoderately that he lay all night dead-drunk in the boat. However, he seems on this occasion to have been merely off his guard, as he ever after acted a very intelligent and prudent part. He not only traded himself, but was employed as an agent in managing the transactions of others. His good faith, however, seems to have been rendered somewhat doubtful by the accounts which he gave to Jobson of a city four months' journey in the interior, the roofs of which were covered with gold.

Trading with the natives.

The report of a vessel come up to trade caused a great resort from the neighbouring districts ; and the natives, rearing temporary hovels, soon formed a little village on each side of the river. Speedily there appeared five hundred of a ruder race, covered with skins of wild animals, "the tails hanging as from the beasts." The women, who had never before seen a white man, ran away ; but the sight of a few beads soon allured them to return. Unluckily the universal cry was for salt,—a-commodity deficient and much desired through all Central Africa ; but Jobson, unapprized of this, had not

laid in a sufficient stock. Every thing else was lightly prized in comparison ; and many who were on their way to swell the market, learning this omission, instantly turned back. He obtained in exchange gold and ivory, and could have got hides in abundance, had they not been too bulky a commodity to bear the expense of conveyance.

CHAP. V.

Articles of
native trade.

Buckar Sano undertook to introduce the English at the court of Tenda. On reaching the king's presence, they witnessed an example of the debasing homage usually paid to negro princes, and of which Clapperton, in Eyeo, afterwards saw several striking instances. The great and wealthy merchant, on appearing before his majesty, first fell on his knees, then, throwing off his shirt, extended himself naked and flat on the ground, while his attendants almost buried him beneath dust and mud. After grovelling for some time in this position, he started up, shook off the earth, which two of his wives assisted in clearing from his person, and was then speedily equipped in his best attire, with bow and quiver. He and his attendants, after having made a semblance of shooting at Jobson, laid their bows at his feet, which was understood as a token of submission : the king even assured the English captain, that the country and every thing in it were thus placed at his disposal. In return for gifts so magnificent, it was impossible to refuse a few bottles of excellent brandy ; the value of which, however, Jobson never expected to realize from these regal donations.

Abject
homage of
African
courtiers.

The commander of the Sion soon found himself in the middle of the dry season, and the river sinking lower and lower ; yet he still made a hard struggle to ascend, animated by the deceitful or inflated reports of Buckar Sano concerning the city of gold. At the distance of a few days' journey he heard of Tombaconda, which he conjectured to be Timbuctoo. The conclusion was most erroneous, this city being distant nearly a thousand miles ; but Europeans had formed as yet no adequate idea of the dimensions of Africa. At length the stream became so

Further
ascent of
the river.

CHAP. V.

Return down
the river.

shallow that he found it utterly vain to attempt ascending higher. He began his voyage downward on the 10th February, proposing to return during the season when the periodical rains filled the channel. This purpose was never executed. Both he and the company became involved in quarrels with the merchants, against whom he bitterly inveighs, as persons who entirely disregarded every object beyond their own immediate profit.

Observation
of native
manners.

Jobson, earlier perhaps than any other Englishman, had an opportunity of observing the manners and superstitions peculiar to native Africa. He found each chief attended by a number of musical performers, whom he dignifies with the title of "juddies or fiddlers," and compares to the Irish rhymsters. These are called, as we learn from other authors, Jelle, or Jillemen, and perform on several instruments rudely constructed of wood, making a very loud noise. These minstrels, with the Greegree men, or magicians, most fantastically attired, often form singular groups, as exhibited in the accompanying plate. The two chief occasions were those of circumcision, and funeral. The former, performed in a very rough manner, attracted the whole country; the forest blazed with fires, while loud music, shouts, and dancing, resounded throughout the night. At the interment of chiefs there were much crying and lamentation, conducted in a somewhat mechanical manner, resembling the Irish howl. Flowers of the sweetest scent were buried along with the deceased, and much gold was deposited for his service in the other world; but there is no mention of those human sacrifices, which form so foul a blot on some of the most civilized African nations. At all festivals a conspicuous part was acted by a personage called Horey, which name our author interprets, "the Devil." This being took his station in the adjoining woods, whence he sent forth tremendous sounds, supposed to be of sinister portent to all within hearing. The only remedy was to deposite, as near to the spot as any one could venture, a large supply of provisions; the speedy disappearance of which authenticated to the villagers

Funeral
ceremonies.

both the existence of this supernatural agent, and the fact of his having been appeased. To Jobson, on the contrary, this very circumstance, combined with the severe hoarseness with which several of the natives were afflicted, afforded a clue to the origin of the extraordinary roaring, and of this he had soon ocular demonstration. Happening, in company with a marabout, to hear the Horey in full cry from a neighbouring thicket, he seized a loaded musket, declaring aloud his resolution forthwith to discharge the contents at his Infernal Majesty. The marabout implored him to stop; the tremendous sound was changed into a low and fearful tone; and Jobson, on running to the spot, saw this mighty demon in the shape of a huge negro, extended on the ground in such agonies of fear that he was unable even to ask for mercy.

The Company, amid the divisions already alluded to, do not appear to have prosecuted farther their designs of discovery. The next attempt was made, about 1660 or 1665, by Vermuyden, a rich merchant on the Gambia, who fitted out a boat well stored with beef, bacon, biscuit, rice, strong waters, and other comfortable supplies; which, however, on arriving at the flats and shallows, were found materially to impede the movement of the vessel. He came first to a wide expanse, which he compares to Windermere Lake, where the only difficulty was to find the main branch amid several that opened from different quarters. "Up the buffing stream," says he, "with sad labour we wrought;" and, when they ascended higher, it often became necessary to drag the boat over the flats; for which purpose the sailors were frequently obliged to strip naked and walk through the water. They were rather rudely received by the only tenants of those upper tracts, the crocodiles and river-horses, "ill pleased, or unacquainted with any companions in these watery regions." One of the latter struck a hole in the boat with his teeth,—an accident which proved very inconvenient from the absence of any one skilled in carpentry; but, by hanging a lantern at the stern, they induced these monsters, which are afraid of light

CHAP. V.

—
Bold exposure of native deception.

Expedition of Vermuyden.

Obstacles to navigation.

CHAP. V.

Attack by
baboons.

shining in the dark, to maintain a respectful distance. On landing to search for gold, they were assailed by an incredible number of huge baboons, on which it is complained that no oratory except guns could produce any impression ; and even after two or three had been killed, they attacked with increased fury, till successive discharges at length compelled them to retreat.

Eager thirst
for gold.

The sole object in this voyage was the discovery of gold. The adventurer landed at various points, washed the sand, and examined the rocks. He had carried out not only mercury, aqua regia, and large melting-pots, but also a divining rod, which was not found to exhibit any virtue ; however, on being laughed at by his companions for his delusive expectations, he persuaded himself that this potent instrument had lost its qualities by being dried up during the voyage from England. On one occasion he found a large mass of apparent gold, which proved to be mere spar. The real metal, he says, is never met with in low, fertile, and wooded spots, but always on naked and barren hills, embedded in a reddish earth. At one place, by twenty days' labour, he succeeded in extracting twelve pounds. At length he declares, that he arrived "at the mouth of the mine itself, and saw gold in such abundance as surprised him with joy and admiration." However, he gives no notice of the position of this vein, the existence of which has not been confirmed by any subsequent observer.

Project of
the Duke of
Chandos.

It was not till 1720 that the spirit of African discovery again revived in England. The Duke of Chandos, then director of the African Company, concerned at the declining state of their affairs, entertained the idea of retrieving them by opening a path into the golden regions still reported to exist in the interior of Africa. At his suggestion the members, in 1723, furnished Captain Bartholomew Stibbs with the usual means of sailing up the Gambia. On the 7th October, this navigator arrived at James' Island, the English settlement, about thirty miles from the mouth of the river, whence he immediately wrote to Mr Willy, the governor, who happened to be

then visiting the factory of Joar, more than a hundred miles distant, asking him to engage canoes. He received for answer, that none were to be had, and was almost distracted to learn that this officer was giving himself no concern about the affair. Some days after, however, a boat brought down the dead body of the governor, who had fallen a victim to the fever of the climate, which had previously affected his brain. Thus, notwithstanding every exertion of Orfeur, who succeeded him, the equipment of the boats was delayed till the 11th December, when the unfavourable season was fast approaching. Stibbs had assigned to him a crew of nineteen white men, of whom one indeed was as black as coal, but being a Christian, ranked as white, and served as interpreter,—likewise twenty-nine grumettas, or hired negroes, with three female cooks; and he afterwards took on board a balafeu, or native musician, to enliven the spirits of the party.

CHAP. V.

Difficulties
encountered
by Bar-
tholomew
Stibbs.

He set out on the 26th of December, and the voyage proceeded for some time very agreeably. His people were every where well received, and at one place even a saphie or charm was laid upon the bank for the purpose of drawing them on shore. The captain had endeavoured to conceal his object, but in vain; and he found himself repeatedly pointed out as the person who was come to bring down the gold. The native crew, however, predicted the most fearful disaster if he should attempt to proceed above the falls of Barraconda. As the boats approached that fatal boundary, the Africans came in a body, and stated their firm determination on no account to ascend any farther. No one, they said, had ever gone beyond that point,—Barraconda was the end of the world, or if there existed any thing on the farther side, it was a frightful and barbarous region, where life would be in continual danger. A long palaver and a bottle of Stibbs' very best brandy were necessary ere they would agree to accompany him beyond this dreaded limit of the habitable universe.

Early pro-
ceedings of
his party.

But the falls of Barraconda were not found so formid-

CHAP. V.

Passage of
the falls of
Barraconda.

able as rumour had represented them ; they were narrow rather than falls, the channel being confined by rocky ledges and fragments, between which there was only one passage, where the canoes rubbed against the rock on each side. In this region of the Upper Gambia, the natives, belying all slanderous rumours, proved to be a harmless, good-humoured people, who, wherever the crew landed, met them with presents of fowls and provisions.

Shallows and
quicksands.

The severest exertion now became necessary in order to pass the flats and quicksands, which multiplied in proportion as they ascended, and over which the boats, in some instances, could only be dragged by main force. The wild and huge animals that occupy these regions appeared still more dangerous to the present adventurers than to their predecessors. The elephants, which had fled precipitately before Jobson, struck the greatest terror into this party ; one of them on a certain occasion putting to flight the whole crew. They were even seen in bands crossing from one side of the water to the other,

Encounters
with river-
horses.

The river-horses also presented themselves in numerous herds ; and though this quadruped generally moved in a sluggish and harmless manner, yet in the shallow places, when walking along the bottom of the river, he occasionally came into collision with the boat ; incensed at which, he was apt to strike a hole through it with his huge teeth, so as to endanger its sinking. If the courage of the crew against these mighty assailants was not very conspicuous, their exertions in dragging the boat over the flats and shallows appear to have been most strenuous ; yet so unfavourable was the season, that at the end of two months Stibbs found himself, on the 22d February, at fifty-nine miles above Barraconda, obliged to stop short even of Tenda, and consequently of the point to which Jobson had formerly attained.

Fruitless
termination
of the
voyage.

The commander, on his return, after making every allowance for the inauspicious seasons and circumstances, could not forbear expressing deep disappointment in regard to the expectations with which he had ascended the Gambia. He saw no appearance of that mighty

channel which was to lead into the remote interior of Africa, and through so many great kingdoms. He declared his conviction, that "its original or head is nothing near so far in the country as by the geographers has been represented." It did not of course appear to him to answer in any respect the descriptions given of the Niger,—it nowhere bore that name,—it did not come out of any lake that he could hear of,—it had no communication with the Senegal or any other great river. The natives reported, that at twelve days' journey above Barraconda it dwindled into a rivulet, and "fowls walked over it." These statements were received most reluctantly and sceptically by Moore, now the company's factor on the Gambia, a man of spirit and intelligence, who, having acquired some learning on the subject, endeavoured to overwhelm Stibbs with quotations from Herodotus, Leo, Edrisi, and other high authorities. The mariner, though unable to cope with him in this discussion, did not the less steadily assert the plain facts which he had seen with his own eyes; and a degree of discouragement was felt, which prevented any other exploratory voyage from being undertaken for a considerable time into that part of the African continent.

CHAP. V.

—
Disappoint-
ing report of
Stibbs.

Sanguine
views of
Moore.

CHAPTER VI.

French Discoveries.

French Settlement on the Senegal—Jannequin's Voyage—
Voyages of Brue up the Senegal—Bambouk ; Gold Mines—
Saugnier—Gum-trade.

CHAP. VI.
French
scheme of
discovery.

FRANCE did not embark so early as some of the neighbouring states in African discovery. Louis XIV., aided by his minister Colbert, was the first prince who studied to raise his kingdom to a high rank as a commercial and maritime power. But, unfortunately, according to the spirit of the time, the only mode in which he ever thought of promoting any branch of trade was by vesting it in an exclusive company ; and when, according to the usual fate of such associations, one was involved in bankruptcy, another immediately supplied its place. Thus four successive copartneries rose and fell ; till at length they all merged in that greatest and most fatal delusion, the Mississippi Scheme. However, these several bodies, at their first formation, attracted many individuals of opulence and talent, and generally opened with a spirited career of enterprise and discovery. While the English sought to ascend the Gambia, the Senegal was the Niger to the French—the stream by which they hoped to penetrate upwards to Timbuctoo and the regions of gold. At the mouth of this river, about the year 1626, was founded the settlement of St Louis, which has ever since continued to be the capital of their possessions in Africa.

Attention
directed to
the Senegal.

The first person who brought home any accounts of that colony was Jannequin, a young man of some

rank, who, as he was walking along the quay at Dieppe, saw a vessel bound for this unknown continent, and took a sudden fancy to embark and make the voyage. The adventurers sailed on the 5th November 1637, and touched at the Canaries ; but the first spot on the continent where they landed was a part of the Sahara near Cape Blanco. Jannequin was struck, in an extraordinary degree, with the desolate aspect of this region. It consisted wholly of a plain of soft sand, in which the feet were buried at every step ; and a man, after walking fifty paces, was overwhelmed with fatigue. At Senegal the colony was found in so imperfect a state that the sailors were obliged to rear huts for their own accommodation ; and, slight as these were, the labour of erecting them under a burning sun was very severe. But, in ascending the river, he was delighted with the brilliant verdure of the banks, the majestic beauty of the trees, and the thick impenetrable underwood. Amid the deep solitude which distinguished the country, all the forests were filled with echoes. The natives received him hospitably, and he was much struck by their strength and courage, decidedly surpassing, as appeared to him, the similar qualities in Europeans. He saw a Moorish chief, called the Kamalingo, who, mounting on horseback, and brandishing three javelins and a cutlass, engaged a lion in single combat, and vanquished that mighty king of the desert. Flat noses and thick lips, so remote from his own ideas of the beautiful, were considered on the Senegal as forming the perfection of the human visage ; nay, he even fancies that they were produced by artificial processes. He was surprised by the enormous number of *greegrees*, or charms, in which the chiefs were enveloped. Every peril—of water, of wild beasts, and of battle—had an appropriate antidote, by which the owner was secured against them. These potent greegrees were merely slips of paper, which the marabouts, or Mussulman doctors, had inscribed with Arabic characters ; and being then enclosed in cases of thick cloth, or even of gold and silver, were hung round the person in such profusion that they actually formed a species of armour. In some instances they composed

CHAP. VI.

First voyage
of JannequinState of the
Senegal
colony.Native ideas
of personal
beauty

CHAP. VI. such a load, that the possessor was unable to mount on horseback without assistance.

Exertions of
the Sieur
Brue.

The Sieur Brue, who, in 1697, was appointed director-general of the Company's affairs, was the person who did most for their prosperity, and also made the greatest efforts to penetrate into the interior. In that year he embarked on a voyage to the Siratik, or King of the Foulahs, whose territory lay about 400 miles up the Senegal. In ascending that river, he was struck, like Jannequin, by the magnificent forests, and the profuse and luxuriant verdure with which they were clothed ; while it was amusing to observe the numberless varieties of the monkey tribe, which were continually leaping from bough to bough. Elephants marched in bands of forty or fifty, and large herds of cattle fed on the rich meadows, though, during the season of inundation, they withdrew to the more elevated spots. At Kahayde, he was received by a chief belonging to the siratik, accompanied by numerous attendants, among whom were his wife, daughters, and some female slaves, all mounted upon asses. He was cordially welcomed ; yet the reflection suggested by his dealings with this gay and fair train was, that European beggars, however great their effrontery, might learn much from the example of the higher circles in Africa. When they can no longer ask, they begin to borrow, with the firm resolution of never repaying ; and the worst of all is, when they offer a gift, they hold it a deadly offence if they are not presented with at least double the value in return.

Reception at
Kahayde.

Arrival at
Ghiorel.

Brue sailed up the river, and landed at the port of Ghiorel ; then, with a party of armed attendants, set out for Gumel, about ten leagues in the interior, where the siratik resided. At the former place he was visited by Buckar Siré, one of the young princes, and afterwards by the Kamalingo or general, and the Boquenet, a venerable negro, who filled an office similar to that of treasurer or prime minister. These two latter personages assured the director of the hearty welcome which awaited him at court ; intimating, at the same time, their readiness to receive the presents which he was understood to have

brought to their sovereign. These accordingly were spread out, and consisted of scarlet cloths, coloured worsteds, copper kettles, pieces of coral and amber, brandy, spices, and a few coins, in portions respectively destined for the king, his wives, and the illustrious messengers; yet these liberal gifts, though they amply satisfied the great personages who received them, did not drain the finances of the Company, since the entire cost did not exceed sixty or seventy pounds. The country was found level, well cultivated, and filled with such numerous herds that the French with difficulty made their way through them. At a village called Buksar, the siré and his attendants again met them, brandishing their lances or assagays, as if in the act to strike. This being explained as meant for the greatest possible compliment, Brue, in return, cocked his pistol at the young prince, with whom he then spent the evening. After being introduced to several ladies of the court, he was entertained with supper, consisting of fruits, kouskous, and other simple products of African cookery. Then followed the *folgar* or dance, the favourite amusement of the negroes; but while all the youth of the village were tripping it gaily upon the green, amid songs and music, he found more gratification in the *kalder*, or conversation carried on by the old men seated on mats in a circle. Their manners were noble and dignified; and they showed retentive memories, as well as quick apprehension, respecting the objects which came within their limited range of observation.

He set out next morning for the residence of the siratik, being respectfully escorted thither by the kama-lingo; but he found that prince surrounded by none of those circumstances which constitute in Europe the pomp of royalty. His palace was merely a cluster of mud cabins enclosed by a hedge of reeds; and in one of these huts he reclined on a couch, while several of his wives and daughters sat round him on mats spread on the ground. The reception was perfectly friendly, and Brue even obtained permission to erect forts,—a privilege of which African princes are usually and indeed naturally jealous. The director was allowed full liberty to con-

CHAP. VI.

—
Presents sent
to the King.

Entertain-
ment at
Court.

Native
palace.

CHAP. VI.
Manners of
the African
ladies.

verse with the female circle, who were by no means held in that state of austere seclusion which gives such a gloom to Mussulman society. The ladies began to talk in the most lively and familiar manner ; and as the visitor was thought to eye with admiration a handsome young princess of seventeen, she was tendered to him in marriage. He excused himself as being already joined in the bonds of matrimony ; but they professed themselves quite unable to conceive how this could form an objection, intimating that their young relative was prepared to share the honour with any reasonable number of rivals. It then behoved the director to explain the matrimonial system of Europe, which furnished, as it always does in Africa, ample ground for wonder and speculation. The lot of the French women was pronounced to be truly enviable ; but his own situation was much commiserated, especially in his present state of separation from his only wife.

Removal of
the Court.

The court being obliged to remove by the annoyance arising from a species of flying insect, Brue had an opportunity of observing the royal procession. First came a numerous body of mounted musicians, who, performing on various instruments, produced a noise at once deafening and discordant. Next followed the royal ladies, seated on camels in large osier baskets, which so completely enveloped their persons that their heads only were seen peeping above. Their female domestics, riding by their side on asses, endeavoured to enliven them by incessant talk. The baggage behind was borne by a long train of the same animals ; while horsemen in military array, with the king and his principal nobles at their head, closed the cavalcade. The director and his party, while all this gay train passed by, exchanged with them the usual salutations ; and having satisfactorily accomplished the immediate object of his journey, he returned to St Louis.

Second
French
voyage

In 1698, the same gentleman undertook another voyage, in which he aimed not merely at the limited objects above stated, but sought to ascend the Senegal as high as possible, and to open a commercial intercourse with

the interior. On this occasion he had again an amicable interview with the siratik, and employed four of his negroes in destroying an enormous lion which had infested the neighbourhood. Farther on he observed some peculiar forms of the animal creation: the air for two hours was darkened by the passage of a cloud of locusts, and the boats were covered with their filth. Lions and elephants roamed in vast numbers; but the latter were quite tame and harmless, unless when attacked. Monkeys swarmed in their usual multitudes; and in one place there were numbers of a red colour, which appeared extremely surprised at the view of the strangers, and came in successive parties to gaze at them; on which occasion they conversed with each other, and even threw down dry branches upon the boatmen. The French, we know not why, fired, and killed several; upon which they raised an extraordinary commotion, and sought, by throwing stones and sticks, to avenge the fall of their comrades; but, soon finding the contest unequal, they retired for safety into the woods. The navigators were also introduced to a personage called "The King of the Bees," who, by the use of a particular charm, came to visit them surrounded by thousands of these insects, over which he exercised an absolute sway, guiding them as a shepherd does his sheep, and completely securing all his friends against their formidable stings.

CHAP. VI

Amicable
receptionAttack of
monkeys.

Brue, on reaching Gallam, found himself in a somewhat delicate position. Two rival princes disputed the throne, each holding, at his respective residence, a certain sway; but both claiming the entire homage, and all the presents brought by the director. The legitimate ruler, in particular, sent his son to remonstrate that his undoubted right ought not to be sacrificed to that of an ephemeral usurper. The European, however, acting steadily on the principle of self-interest, endeavoured to ascertain which of the two sovereigns could most benefit the Company; and finding the real power chiefly in the hands of the rebel, bestowed on him the larger portion of good things. The other party was thereby so incensed that he even threatened an attack; but the

Rival native
princes.

CHAP. VI determined language of Brue, and the sight of the great guns which he had on board, made him relinquish all hostile intentions.

The St. Joseph
Fort on the
Upper
Senegal.

The director now reached Dramanet, a thriving town, inhabited by several rich merchants, who traded as far as Timbuctoo, which, according to their computation, was five hundred leagues in the interior. This position was therefore thought the most convenient place for a fort, which was called St Joseph, and continued long the principal seat of French commerce on the Upper Senegal. He then went up to Felu, where an immense rock, crossing the river, forms a cataract, which it is almost impossible for vessels to pass. Quitting his boats, he proposed to ascend to the falls of Govinea, about forty leagues higher; but the water was getting so low, that, fearing the navigation downward would be interrupted, he returned to St Louis.

Accounts of
the interior.

In reply to numerous inquiries made by him on this journey, he received accounts of the kingdom of Bambarra, of the Lake Maberia (Dibbie of Park), of Timbuctoo, of the caravans which came thither from Barbary, and even of masted vessels which had been seen on the waters beyond. But the grand object of his research was the course of the Niger, concerning which he received two quite opposite descriptions. According to some it flowed *westward* from the Lake Maberia, till it separated into the two channels of the Gambia and Senegal; but other and juster reports represented it as being distinct from both these rivers, and as passing *eastward* beyond Timbuctoo. The testimonies transmitted to France in favour of this last opinion must have greatly preponderated, since both the eminent geographers, Delille and D'Anville, adopted this delineation; and yet the popular impression in that country, as well as among Europeans in general, long continued to regard the Niger and Senegal as the same river.

Gold mines
of Bambouk.

Beyond Gallam lay another more tempting region, Bambouk, which contains mines of gold, the most productive of any that have been found in the interior of Western Africa. The difficulty of penetrating thither,

however, was extreme, the natives having completely barred the frontier against white men, in consequence of the tyranny exercised by the Portuguese, who had ruled and oppressed the district, till they were cut off or finally expelled by a general insurrection. Many adventurers, after being induced by high bribes to undertake the journey, successively declined the enterprise. At length a person named Compagnon, laden with valuable presents, ventured to pass the boundary, and by his address succeeded in conciliating the inhabitants of the nearest village. A profound alarm, however, spread through the country, when it was known that there was a white man within its precincts, and representations were sent, that, according to the ancient salutary laws, he should forthwith be put to death; nevertheless, by gifts and adroit management, he succeeded in making his way from village to village. He contrived to visit the principal districts, and even to carry off a portion of the *ghingan*, or golden earth, which forms the pride and wealth of Bambouk. Brue then transmitted to France various projects, and among others that of conquering the country, which he undertook to effect with 1200 men; but such a degree of apathy prevailed at home, that none of these propositions made any impression. Subsequent governors, we find, directed their attention to the same subject: two of them, Levens and David, even visited Bambouk in person; but no attempt was ultimately made either to conquer or to form settlements in that part of Africa. Indeed, though either step might have been successful in the first instance, the possession of such a territory would in the end have proved both costly and precarious.

From the accounts thus received, and which have been collected by Mr Golberry, Bambouk appears to consist of a mass of lofty, naked, and barren mountains, and to contain scarcely any treasures, except those which are hid in the bowels of the earth. Besides, it is in the most arid and dreary spot of this gloomy region that the gold is found. Several hills in different quarters, not very high, but of considerable extent, have this metallic substance distributed throughout, under the

CHAP. VI.

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Influence of
Portuguese
oppression.

Exploration
by Compag-
non.

Apathy in
France.

Recent ac-
counts of
Bambouk.

CHAP. VI.
Gold mines.

Native
miners

Obstacles
encountered
by them.

form of grains, spangles, and even of small lumps, which are always found larger in proportion to the depth of the bed. In the mine of Natakou, the ore is mixed with earth, from which the precious dust is extracted by continued agitation in water ; or it adheres to fragments of iron, emery, and lapis lazuli, whence it is easily detached. In the mine of Semayla, on the contrary, it is embedded in a hard reddish loam, mixed with other substances still harder, from which it can be extracted only by reducing them all to a powder. This is effected by pounding them with a pestle of hard wood, which is soon worn away by the resistance of the minerals ; on which account, this mine, though richer than the other, is less valuable. The Farims, who are absolute chiefs of Bambouk, allow these operations to take place only at certain seasons, when they themselves attend to levy a proportion of the proceeds. Two men, or two women,—for they are promiscuously employed in this occupation,—dig out the earth or other substances, which they hand to those who are to extract the gold from it. This metal they imagine to be a capricious being, delighting to sport with their eager pursuit ; and when they find a rich vein suddenly become unproductive, they call out, “ He is off ! ” The pit, which is six feet in diameter, is dug to the depth of thirty or forty, when the workmen are usually arrested by an impenetrable bed of reddish-coloured marble, which, from certain indications, Golberry is led to consider as only the covering of much more abundant veins. These pits or shafts, by means of ladders, are carried down with perpendicular sides, which often fall in, and bury the unfortunate miners. This, however, does not at all discompose the survivors : they apprehend that the devil, or rather a certain subterranean deity, having occasion for labourers to conduct his own operations underneath, seizes in this manner the best he can find on the surface of the earth. Nor do they feel the least surprise, though they cannot conceal their regret, when, in the course of working, they light upon the skeletons of the victims. The devil, they then fancy, has found himself mistaken

in his choice, and has rudely thrown them back to the place whence he had withdrawn them.

The trade to Gallam appears, by the report of M. Saugnier, who undertook an excursion thither, to have been very profitable, when its advantages were not counterbalanced by accidents on the route. Gold, ivory, and slaves, could be purchased on easy terms; and the natives, called Serawoolies, were intelligent and active, though inclined to be thievish. The voyage, however, is liable to many vicissitudes, the navigation often dangerous, and the natives on shore perpetually on the watch for plunder, especially the princes or robbers, which terms in Africa are nearly synonymous. The French government, also, had issued instructions not to proceed to great extremities against these high-born pilferers; and hence Saugnier complains, that, though he had at one time eight royal personages on board his vessel as prisoners, he durst not turn them to any account. In this way the adventure was almost as likely to ruin as to enrich the person who undertook it.

CHAP. VI.

Favourable
reports of
Gallam.

The chief prosperity of the French settlements on the Senegal was derived from the gum-trade, of which Golberry has given a lively description. To the north of this river, where the fertile lands pass into the boundless plains of the Sahara, grow large forests of that species of acacia from which the gum distils. It is crooked and stunted, resembling rather a bush than a tree. No incision is necessary; for under the influence of the hot winds the bark dries and cracks in various places. The liquor exudes; but by its tenacity remains attached in the form of drops, which are as clear and transparent as the finest rock-crystal. The Moorish tribes, to whom these woods belong, break up about the beginning of December from their desert encampments, and proceed to the gum-district in a tumultuous crowd; the rich mounted on horses and camels, while the poor perform the journey on foot. Six weeks are spent in collecting the precious resin; after which it is conveyed to the great annual fair held on the banks of the Senegal. The

Success of
the gum
trade.

Moorish
tribes.

CHAP. VI.
Great trading
fair.

Dishonest
artifices

scene of this merchandise is an immense plain of white moving sand, the desolate monotony of which is not broken by a single herb or shrub ; and here the French take their station to await the arrival of the Moors. On the appointed morning they hear at a distance the confused noise of their hordes in motion. Towards noon this extensive solitary waste appears covered with men, women, and animals, innumerable, enveloped in clouds of dust. The chiefs ride beautiful horses ; while the females of rank are seated on camels, elegantly caparisoned, in baskets covered with an awning. An incessant murmur pervades this barbarous assemblage, till, the whole having arrived, the camp is pitched, and a cannon fired as a signal for beginning the fair. The French relate, that every species of artifice and even threats are employed by these rude traffickers to enhance the price of their commodity ; yet they themselves, it would appear, have little right to complain, inasmuch as they confess that they have, insensibly, and without attracting the notice of their barbarous customers, raised the *kantar*, by which the gum is measured, from five hundred to two thousand pounds weight.



CHAPTER VII.

Early Proceedings of the African Association.

Ledyard—Lucas—Information respecting the Interior—Houghton—His Death.

THE preceding narrative of French and English discoveries, proves the imperfect success with which the earlier attempts to penetrate into the interior of Africa, though made by the most powerful nations of Europe, were attended. While the remotest extremities of land and sea in other quarters of the globe had been reached by British enterprise, this vast region remained an unseemly blank in the map of the earth. Such a circumstance was felt as discreditable to a great maritime and commercial nation, as well as to the sciences upon which the extension of geographical knowledge depends. To remove this reproach, a body of spirited individuals formed themselves into what was termed the African Association; who, after subscribing the necessary funds, sought out individuals duly qualified to undertake such distant and adventurous missions. Lord Rawdon, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, Sir Joseph Banks, the Bishop of Llandaff, Mr Beaufoy, and Mr Stuart, were nominated managers. It seemed scarcely probable that the mere offer to defray travelling expenses, which was all the society's finances could afford, would induce persons with the requisite qualifications to engage in journeys so long and beset with so many perils; yet such is the native enterprise of Britons, that men eminently fitted for the task presented themselves, even in greater numbers than could be received.

CHAP. VII.

Imperfect
results of
European
explorers.

Formation of
the African
Association.

CHAP. VII.

Ledyard's
experience as
a traveller.

Plan of pro-
cedure.

Description
of the Delta
and its
natives.

The first adventurer was Mr Ledyard, who, born a traveller, had spent his life in passing from one extremity of the earth to another. He had sailed round the world with Captain Cook, had lived several years among the American Indians, and had made a journey with the most scanty means from Stockholm round the Gulf of Bothnia, and thence to the remotest parts of Asiatic Russia. On his return he presented himself to Sir Joseph, to whom he owed many obligations, just as that eminent person was looking out for an African traveller. He immediately pronounced Ledyard to be in all respects suited, and recommended him to Mr Beaufoy, who was struck with his fine countenance, frank conversation, and an eye expressive of determined enterprise. He himself declared this scheme to be quite in unison with his wishes ; and on being asked how soon he could set out, replied, " to-morrow." Affairs, however, were not yet quite matured ; but he was soon after provided with a passage to Alexandria, with the view of first proceeding southward from Cairo to Sennaar, and thence traversing the entire breadth of the African continent. He arrived at the Egyptian capital on the 19th August 1788, and while preparing for his journey into the interior, transmitted some original, though rather fanciful, observations upon the country. He represents the Delta as an unbounded plain of excellent land miserably cultivated ; the villages as most wretched assemblages of poor mud huts, full of dust, fleas, flies, and all the curses of Moses ; and the people much below the rank of any savages he ever saw, wearing only a blue shirt and drawers, and tattooed as much as the South Sea Islanders. He bids his correspondents, if they wish to see Egyptian women, look at any group of gipsies behind a hedge in Essex. The Mohammedans he describes as a trading, enterprising, superstitious, warlike set of vagabonds, who, wherever they are bent upon going, will go ; but he complains that the condition of a Frank is rendered most humiliating and distressing by the furious bigotry of the Turks. To him it seemed inconceivable that such enmity should

exist among men, and that beings of the same species should think and act in a manner so opposite. By conversing with the Jelabs or slave-merchants, he learned a good deal respecting the caravan-routes and countries of the interior. Every thing seemed ready for his departure, and he announced that his next communication would be from Sennaar ; but, on the contrary, the first tidings received were those of his death. Disappointment, occasioned by delay in the departure of the caravan, working upon his impatient spirit, brought on a bilious complaint, to which he applied violent remedies, and thus reduced himself to a state from which the care of Rossetti, the Venetian consul, and the skill of the best physicians of Cairo, were found insufficient to deliver him.

The society had, at the time they engaged Ledyard, entered into terms with Mr Lucas, a gentleman, who, being captured in his youth by a Sallee rover, had been three years a slave at the court of Morocco, and after his deliverance acted as vice-consul in that empire. Having spent sixteen years there, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of Africa and its languages. He was sent, by way of Tripoli, with instructions to accompany the caravan, which takes the most direct route into the interior ; and being provided with letters from the Tripolitan ambassador, he obtained not only the bey's permission, but even promises of assistance for this expedition. At the same time he made an arrangement with two shereefs, or descendants of the prophet, whose persons are held sacred, to join a caravan, with which they intended to travel. He proceeded with them to Mesurata ; but the Arabs there, being in a state of rebellion, refused to furnish camels and guides ; which, indeed, could scarcely be expected, as the bey had declined to grant them a safe conduct through his territories. Mr Lucas was therefore obliged to return to Tripoli, without being able to penetrate farther into the continent. He learned, however, from Imhammed, one of the shereefs, who had been an extensive traveller, a variety of particulars respecting the interior regions. The society had at the same time

CHAP. VII.

Caravan
routes of the
slave mer-
chants.

Sudden death
of Ledyard.

Qualifications
of Lucas.

Interruption
of his jour-
ney.

CHAP. VII. made very particular inquiries of Ben Ali, a caravan-trader of Morocco, who happened to be in London. From these two sources Mr Beaufoy was enabled to draw up a view of Central Africa, very imperfect indeed, yet superior to any that had ever before appeared.

Report of
Ben Ali.

States of
Bornou and
Kashna.

According to the information thus obtained, Bornou and Kashna were the most powerful states in that part of the continent, and formed even empires holding sway over a number of tributary kingdoms,—a statement at that time quite correct, though affairs have since greatly changed. The Kashna caravan often crossed the Niger, and went onwards to great kingdoms beyond the Gold Coast, Gongah or Kong, Asiente or Ashantee, Yarba or Yarriba, through which last Clapperton recently travelled. Several extensive routes across the Desert were also delineated; but in regard to the Niger, the report of Imhammed revived the error which represented that river as flowing westward towards the Atlantic. The reason on which this opinion was founded will be evident, when we observe, that it was in Kashna that Ben Ali considered himself to have crossed that stream. His Niger, then, was the Quarrama or river of Zirmie, which flows westward through Kashna and Sackatoo, and is only a tributary to the Quorra or Great River, to which we give the name. He describes the current as very broad and rapid, probably from having seen it during the rainy season, when all the tropical rivers of any magnitude assume an imposing appearance.

Enterprise
of Major
Houghton.

As Mr Lucas made no farther effort to penetrate into Africa, the next expedition was performed by a new agent, and from a different quarter. Major Houghton, who had resided for some time as consul at Morocco, and afterwards in a military capacity at Goree, undertook to reach the Niger by the route of the Gambia; not, however, like Jobson and Stibbs, by ascending its stream in boats, but by travelling singly on land. He seems to have been endowed with a gay, active, and sanguine spirit, fitted to carry him through the boldest undertakings, but without that cool and calculating temper necessary to

make his way amid scenes of peril and treachery. He began his journey early in 1791, and soon reached Medina, the capital of Woolli, where the venerable chief received him with extreme kindness, promised to furnish guides, and assured him that he might go to Timbuctoo with his staff in his hand. The only evil that befell him there, arose from a fire which accidentally took place, and spreading rapidly through buildings roofed with cane and matted grass, converted in an hour a town of a thousand houses into a heap of ashes. The Major ran out with the rest of the people into the fields, saving only such few articles as could be carried with him. He writes, that by trading at Fattatenda a man may make at least 800 per cent., and live in plenty on ten pounds a-year. Quitting the Gambia, he took the road through Bambouk, and arrived at Ferbanna on the Faleme. Here he met with an extraordinary degree of kindness from the king, who gave him a guide and money to defray his expenses. A note was afterwards received from him, dated Simbing, and which contained merely these words,—"Major Houghton's compliments to Dr Laidley; is in good health on his way to Timbuctoo; robbed of all his goods by Fenda Bucar's son." This was the last communication from him; for soon afterwards the negroes brought down to Pisania the melancholy tidings of his death, of which Mr Park subsequently learned the particulars. Some Moors had persuaded the Major to accompany them to Tisheet, a place in the Great Desert, and frequented chiefly on account of its salt-mines. In alluring him thither, their object, as appears from the result, was to rob him; for it was very much out of the direct route to Timbuctoo. Of this in a few days he became sensible, and insisted upon returning; but they would not permit him to leave their party until they had stripped him of every article in his possession. He wandered about some time in the Desert without either food or shelter, till, at length, he sat down under a tree and expired. Mr Park was shown the very spot where his remains were abandoned to the fowls of the air.

CHAP. VII.

Reception at
the capital
of Woolli.

Last letter
from Major
Houghton.

Treachery of
the Moors.



CHAPTER VIII.

Park's First Journey.

Park undertakes to explore Africa—Departure—Ill Treatment at Bondou and Joag—Kooniakary—Captivity among the Moors—Escape—The Niger—Sego—Sansanding—Silla—Obliged to return—Various Misfortunes—Distressed State—Finds Relief at Kamalia—Arrival in England.

As soon as the Association were informed of the unhappy fate of Houghton, they accepted the services of Mr Mungo Park, a native of Scotland, who had been regularly bred to the medical profession, and just returned from a voyage to India. The committee were satisfied that he possessed the requisite qualifications, though they could not yet be aware of the full extent of his courage and perseverance, nor of the unrivalled eminence to which, as a traveller, he was destined to rise.

He set sail from Portsmouth on the 22d May 1795, and on the 21st June arrived at Jillifree on the Gambia. He then proceeded to Pisania, in the fertile kingdom of Yan, where he was detained five months by illness under the hospitable roof of Dr Laidley. While suffering from the fever of the climate, he acquired the Mandingo language, and obtained considerable information from the negro traders respecting the interior countries. The Gambia at this station was deep and muddy, overshadowed by impenetrable thickets of mangrove, and the stream filled with crocodiles and river-horses.

On the 2d of December, he again took his departure, attended only by a few negro servants. On the 5th he arrived at Medina, where the good old king received

CHAP. VIII.
Mungo Park.

Arrival at
Jillifree.

Departure on
his journey.

CHAP. VIII.

Reception by
the king at
Medina.

Perils of a
defenceless
traveller

Royal
spoliation.

Reception by
the ladies.

him with the same hospitality he had so liberally shown to Major Houghton ; but earnestly exhorted him to take warning from the fate of that too adventurous traveller, and go no farther. Mr Park was not to be thus discouraged ; but immediately proceeded to enter the great forest or wilderness which separates this country from Bondou. He conformed to the example of his companions in hanging a charm or shred of cloth on a tree at its entrance, which was completely covered with those guardian symbols. In two days he had passed the wood and reached Bondou, a fine champaign country, watered by the Faleme. He had soon, however, to encounter the perils which cannot but await every single and defenceless traveller who, loaded with valuable goods, journeys through a succession of petty kingdoms where law is unknown. At Fatteconda, which he reached on the 21st December, he was obliged to wait upon Almami, the king, who had already disgraced himself by the plunder of Houghton. Being desirous to preserve a new blue coat, our adventurer deemed it the wisest plan to wear it on his person, fondly hoping that it would not be actually stripped off his back. However, after the introductory ceremonial, the monarch began a warm panegyric on the wealth and generosity of the whites, whence he proceeded to the praises of the coat and its yellow buttons, concluding by expressing the delight with which he should wear it for the sake of his guest. He did not add, that if these hints were disregarded, it would be seized by force ; but the traveller, being thoroughly convinced that such was his intention, pulled off the coat, of which he humbly requested his majesty's acceptance. The barbarian abstained from farther spoil, and introduced him as a curiosity to his female circle. The ladies, after a careful survey, approved of his external appearance, with the exception of the two deformities of a white skin and a high nose ; but for these they made ample allowance, being blemishes produced by the false taste of his mother, who had bathed him in milk when young, and, by pinching his nose, elevated it into its present

absurd height. Park flattered them on their jet-black skins and beautifully-flattened noses ; but was modestly warned that *honey-mouth* was not esteemed in Bondou !

Another forest intervened between that kingdom and Kajaaga, which he crossed by moonlight, when the deep silence of the woods was interrupted only by the howling of wolves and hyenas, which glided like shadows through the thickets. Scarcely was he arrived at Joag in Kajaaga, when a party from Bacheri, the king, surrounded him, and declared his merchandise forfeited, in consequence of his entering the country without paying the duties. On this pretext he was stripped of his goods, except a small portion which he contrived to hide. Unable to procure a meal, he was sitting disconsolate under a *bentang* tree, when an aged female slave came up and asked if he had dined. Being told that he had not, and had been robbed of his property, she presented several handfuls of nuts, and went off before he could return thanks. Demba Sego, nephew to the King of Kasson, happening to be at Joag endeavouring to negotiate a peace between his uncle and Bacheri, who were at variance, now undertook to guide him into that district ; he did so, but exacted duties and presents till Mr Park was deprived of half his remaining stock. Kasson is a level, fertile, and beautiful country. At Kooniakary, the capital, our traveller was well received by the king, and forwarded to Kemmoo, the principal town of Kaarta. Daisy, the sovereign of this state, likewise treated him with the utmost kindness ; but, on learning his intention of taking the route to Timbuctoo through Bambarra, he declared this to be impossible, as he himself was then at war with the latter kingdom, and assured him that he would at once be killed if he attempted to enter it from his dominions. There remained therefore no alternative but to go by way of the Moorish kingdom of Ludamar, a perilous and fatal route, on which Major Houghton had already perished. Park, however, hoped, by proceeding along the southern frontier, to reach Bambarra without coming much into contact with the furious bigots by whom it was peopled.

CHAP. VIII.

Entering of
the Kajaaga
kingdom.

Female kind-
ness.

Total spolia-
tion.

Compulsory
change of
route.

CHAP. VIII.

Successful
negotiations
with the
Moors.

On his arrival at Jarro, a large town chiefly inhabited by negroes, but entirely under the power of the Moors, he sent to Benowm, the capital, a messenger loaded with presents to negotiate with Ali, their chief, for a passage through his territories. After waiting a fortnight in great anxiety, he received a safe conduct to Goombo, a place on the frontier of Bambarra. He first proceeded to Deena, a town in the possession of the same people, who insulted him in the grossest manner, and also plundered him ; so that he was happy to escape by setting out at two in the morning of 3d March. He passed next through Sampaka and Dalli, where he was received by the negro inhabitants with the usual kindness and hospitality of that race ; he was even induced to stop a day at Dalli, under promise of an escort ; but this was a fatal pause. At Sami, on the 7th March, a party of Moorish horsemen appeared, for the purpose of telling him that Fatima, the favourite wife of Ali, having been struck with desire to see what kind of creature a Christian is, he must instantly come and show himself ; but he was assured, at the same time, that he would be well treated, and, on satisfying her majesty's curiosity, would even be forwarded on his journey.

Recalled by
the Moors.

Conveyed to
Benowm.

Benowm, the barbarian capital, to which Park was then conveyed, proved to be a mere camp, composed of a number of dirty tents, intermingled with herds of camels, horses, and oxen. He was surrounded by crowds, actuated partly by curiosity and partly by that malignant feeling which always inflames the Moor against the Christian. They snatched off his hat, made him unbutton his clothes to show the whiteness of his skin, and counted his fingers and toes, to see if he were really of the same nature with themselves. After being kept for some time in the sun, he was lodged in a hut made of corn-stalks, supported by posts, to one of which was tied a wild hog, evidently in derision, and to intimate that they were fit associates for each other. The hog indeed would have been the most harmless part of the affair, had not idle boys taken delight in tormenting and

Reception
and treat-
ment.

exciting the animal to a constant state of fury. Crowds of both sexes incessantly poured in to see the white man, and he was obliged to continue the whole day buttoning and unbuttoning his clothes, to show his skin, and the European manner of dressing and undressing. When curiosity was satisfied, the next amusement was to annoy him, and hence he became the sport of the meanest and most vulgar members of this rude community. The horsemen took him out, and galloped round him, baiting him as if he had been a wild beast, twirling their swords in his face to show their skill in the use of that weapon. Repeated attempts were made to compel him to work. One of Ali's sons desired him to mend the lock of a double-barrelled gun, and could scarcely be persuaded that all Europeans did not ply the trade of the smith. He was also installed as barber, and directed to shave the head of a young prince ; but not relishing this function, he contrived to give his highness such a cut, that Ali took the alarm, and discharged him as incapable. That chief, under pretence of securing him against depredation, seized for himself all that remained of the traveller's property. Having examined the instruments, he was greatly astonished at the compass, and particularly at its always pointing towards the Great Desert. Park, thinking it vain to attempt any scientific exposition, said, that its direction was always to the place where his mother dwelt ; whereupon Ali, struck with superstitious dread, desired it to be taken away.

Amid these insults, his sufferings were the more severe from the very scanty measure of food with which he was supplied. At midnight only he received a small mess of kouskous, not nearly enough to satisfy nature. He had been invited indeed to kill and dress his companion the hog ; but this he considered as a snare laid for him, believing that the Mohammedans, had they seen him feasting on this impure and hated flesh, would have killed him on the spot. As the dry season advanced, water became scarce and precious, and only a very limited quantity was allowed to reach the infidel, who thus was

CHAP. VIII.

Curiosity to
see a white
man.

Demands on
his skill.

Sufferings
and priva-
tions

CHAP. VIII.

Great
scarcity of
water.

Knowledge
and informa-
tion ac-
quired.

Rancour of
the Moors.

Visit to the
Princess
Fatima.

made to endure the pangs of the most tormenting thirst. On one occasion, a Moor, who was drawing water for his cows, yielded to his earnest entreaty that he might put the bucket to his mouth ; then, struck with sudden alarm at such a profanation of the vessel, seized it, and poured the liquid into the trough, desiring him to share with the cattle. Park overcame the risings of pride, plunged his head into the water, and enjoyed a delicious draught.

During this dreadful period, he contrived, nevertheless, to obtain some information. Even the rudest of his tormentors took pleasure in teaching him the Arabic characters, by tracing them upon the sand. Two Mohammedan travellers came to Benowm, from whom he obtained routes to Morocco, Walet, and Timbuctoo ; but they gave the most discouraging report as to the prospects of reaching the latter city. He was told *it would not do* ; the Moors were there entirely masters, and viewed all Christians as children of the devil, and enemies of the prophet.

Fatima, the wife of Ali, whose curiosity to see a European he had been brought hither to gratify, was absent all this time, and not even yet expected, while the rancour of the Moors, by whom Park was surrounded, became always more imbibtered. A party even proposed that he should be condemned to death, though the king's sons only recommended to put out his eyes, alleging that they resembled those of a cat. Hereupon he began seriously to consider the possibility of escape ; but, besides his being closely watched, the Desert was now so entirely destitute of water, that he must have perished on the road with thirst. He was therefore obliged to await the rainy season, however unfavourable for travelling through the negro territories.

On the 30th April, Ali, having occasion to move his quarters, came to Bubaker, the residence of Fatima, and the stranger was introduced to that favourite princess. The beauty of a Moorish female is measured entirely by her circumference ; and to bestow this grace on their daughters, the mothers stuff them with enormous quan-

ties of milk and kouskous, the swallowing of which is enforced even with blows, till they attain that perfection of form which renders them a load for a camel. The dimensions by which Fatima had captivated her royal lover were very enormous, and she possessed besides Arab features with long black hair. This queen at first shrunk back with horror at seeing before her that monster, a Christian ; but, after putting various questions, began to see in him nothing so wholly different from the rest of mankind. She presented to him a bowl of milk, and continued to show him the only kindness he met with during this dreadful captivity. At length her powerful intercession induced Ali to take Park with him to Jarra, where our traveller hoped to find the means of proceeding on his journey.

But here a striking event occurred : Ali, through avarice, had involved himself in the quarrel between the monarchs of Kaarta and Bambarra, and news arrived that Daisy was in full march to attack the town. The troops, who ought to have defended the place, fled at the first onset, and nothing remained for the inhabitants but to abandon it, and escape from slaughter or slavery, the dreadful alternatives of African conquest. The scene was affecting. The local attachments of the natives are strong ; and the view of this disconsolate crowd quitting perhaps for ever the place of their birth, the scene of their early life, and where they had fixed all their hopes and desires, presented a striking picture of human calamity. Park would now very gladly have presented himself before his friend Daisy ; but, being afraid that in the confusion he should be mistaken for a Moor, and killed as such, he thought it a safer course to join the retreat. He found more difficulty in escaping than he had expected, being seized by three Mohammedans, who threatened to carry him back to Ali, but finally contented themselves with robbing him of his cloak. In flying from savage man, he soon found himself involved in a danger hardly less alarming ; he was in the midst of an extensive desert, in which was neither food nor a drop of water.

CHAP. VIII.

Ideas of
female
beauty.Assault of
Jarra.Opposing
dangers.

CHAP. VIII.

Terrible
scene of
desolation.

Fortunate
occurrence
of rain.

Reception at
Foula.

Rest at
Wawra.

Having ascended the loftiest tree within his reach, he could see no boundary to the scene of desolation. The pangs of thirst became intolerable, a dimness spread over his eyes, and he felt as if this life with all its mingled joys and miseries was about to close,—as if all the hopes of glory by which he had been impelled to this adventurous career had vanished, and he was to perish at the moment, when a few days more would have brought him to the Niger. Suddenly he saw a flash of lightning, and eagerly hailed it as a portent of rain; the wind then began to blow among the bushes; but it was a sand-breeze, which continued for an hour to fill the atmosphere with dust. At last there burst forth a brighter flash, followed by a shower, which being received upon his clothes, the moisture wrung out from them gave him new life. He travelled onwards, passing, but carefully shunning, a village of the Moors; when thirst, imperfectly satisfied, began again to torment him. Then he heard a delightful sound, the croaking of frogs, and soon reached the muddy pools which they inhabited, when both himself and his horse enjoyed a copious draught. He came to a Foula village called Sherilla, where the *dooty*, or chief magistrate, shut the door in his face, and refused him a handful of corn; however, in passing the suburbs, a poor woman, who was spinning cotton in front of her hut, invited him to enter, and set before him a dish of kous-kous. Next day he was hospitably received by a negro shepherd, who regaled him with dates and boiled corn; but, happening to pronounce the word Nazarani (Christian), the wife and children screamed and ran out of the house, into which nothing could induce them to return.

At Wawra, Park considered himself beyond the reach of the Moors; and, being kindly received, determined to rest two or three days. When he was known to be on his way to Sego, the capital, several women came and besought him to ask the king about their sons, who had been taken away to the army. One had neither seen nor heard of hers for several years: she declared he was no heathen, but said his prayers daily, and that he was

often the subject of her dreams. Leaving this place, he came to Dingyee, where he seemed invested with a sacred character,—a man earnestly entreating a lock of his hair to be used as a saphie or charm ; and receiving permission to cut it off, he contrived to crop completely one side of the head. Proceeding towards Sego, he joined on the road several small negro parties ; but, as the country became more populous, hospitality was less common. In Moorja, however, though mostly peopled by Moham-medans, he found gayety and abundance. He next passed through several towns and villages, which, in the late war, had been systematically destroyed ; the large bentang-tree, under which the inhabitants used to meet, had been cut down, the wells were filled up, and every thing done which could render the neighbourhood uninhabitable. He passed also a *coffle*, or caravan, of about seventy slaves tied together by the neck with thongs of bullock's hide, seven individuals upon each thong. His horse was now so completely worn out, that, instead of attempting to ride, he found it necessary to drive it before him. Being also barefooted, and in the most miserable plight, he afforded a subject of merriment to the natives, who asked if he had been travelling to Mecca, and made ironical proposals for the purchase of his animal ; even the slaves were ashamed to be seen in his company.

At length the near approach to Sego was indicated by crowds hastening to its market ; and Mr Park was told that on the following day, the 21st July, that primary object of his search, the Joliba or Great Water, would appear before him. He passed a sleepless night ; but, starting before daybreak, had the satisfaction, at eight o'clock, to see the smoke rising from the town. He overtook some former fellow-travellers, and, in riding through a piece of marshy ground, one of them called out, *geo affilli* (see the water), and looking forwards, " I saw," says he, " with infinite pleasure, the great object of my mission, the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward. I hastened to the

CHAP. VIII.

Reception at
Dingyee.Caravans of
slaves.Approach to
Sego.First sight of
the Niger.

CHAP. VIII.

Capital of
the kingdom
of Bambarra.

Forbid to
cross the
river.

Female hos-
pitality.

brink, and having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success."

Mr Park now saw before him Sego, the capital of the kingdom of Bambarra. It consisted of four separate towns, two on each side of the river, surrounded with high mud walls,—the houses, though only of clay, neatly whitewashed,—the streets commodious, with mosques rising in every quarter,—and it was estimated to contain about thirty thousand inhabitants. The numerous canoes on the river, the crowded population, and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, presented altogether an appearance of civilisation and magnificence little expected in the bosom of Africa. The traveller sought a passage to Sego-see-Korro, the quarter where the king resided ; but, owing to the concourse of passengers, he was detained two hours ; during which time his majesty was apprized that a white man, poorly equipped, was about to pass the river to seek an audience. A chief was immediately sent, with an express order, that the stranger should not cross without the royal permission, and pointed to a village at some distance, where it was recommended that he should pass the night. Park, not a little disconcerted, repaired to the place ; but as the order had not been accompanied with any instructions for his reception, he found every door shut. Turning his horse loose to graze, he was preparing, as a security from wild beasts, to climb a tree and sleep among the branches, when a beautiful and affecting incident occurred, which gives a most pleasing view of the negro character. An old woman, returning from the labours of the field, cast on him a look of compassion, and desired him to follow her. She led him to an apartment in her hut, procured a fine fish, which she broiled for his supper, and spread a mat for him to sleep upon ; ordering her maidens, who had been gazing in fixed astonishment at their guest, to resume their tasks, which they continued to ply through a great part of the night. They cheered their labours with a song, which must

have been composed *extempore*, since Mr Park, with deep emotion, discovered that he himself was the subject of it. It said, in a strain of affecting simplicity,—“The winds roared, and the rains fell. The poor white man, faint and weary, came and sat under our tree. He has no mother to bring him milk, no wife to grind his corn. —*Chorus*—Let us pity the white man, no mother has he,” &c. The traveller was singularly gratified, and next morning could not depart without requesting his landlady's acceptance of the only gift he had left, two of the four brass buttons that still remained on his waistcoat.

He continued two days in this village, during which he understood that he was the subject of much deliberation at court, the Moors and slave-merchants giving the most unfavourable reports of his character and purposes. A messenger came and asked if he had any present, and seemed much disappointed on being told that he had been robbed of every thing. On the second day thereafter appeared another envoy, bearing an injunction from Mansong that the foreigner should not enter Sego, but proceed forthwith on his journey; to defray the expenses of which a bag containing 5000 cowries was delivered to him. He estimates this sum at only twenty shillings; but admits that, valued according to the price of provisions, it was worth much more, being sufficient to maintain himself and his horse fifty days.

Two days brought our traveller to Sansanding, a large town with 10,000 inhabitants, and he hoped to enter unnoticed, finding himself mistaken by the negroes for a Moor. Being carried, however, before Counti Mamadi, the dooty, he met a number of Mohammedans, who not only denied the supposed national connexion, but regarded him with their usual hatred and suspicion. Several even pretended they had seen him before, and one woman swore that she had kept his house three years at Gallam. The judge put a negative on their proposal of dragging him by force to the mosque; but they climbed over in great numbers into the court where he had taken up his quarters for the night, insisting that he should perform

CHAP. VIII

—
Song of the
Negro
women.Deliberation
concerning
Park.Reception at
Sansanding.

CHAP. VIII. his evening devotions, and eat eggs. The first demand was positively declined ; but he professed his utmost readiness to comply with the second. The eggs were accordingly brought, but raw, as the natives imagined it a part of European depravity to be fond of them in that state. His reluctance to partake of this fare exalted him in the eyes of his sage visitants ; his host thereupon killed a sheep, and gave him a plentiful supper.

Native
prejudices
overcome.

Danger from
a lion.

His route now lay through woods, grievously infested with all kinds of wild animals. His guide suddenly wheeled his horse round, calling out, "*Wara billi billi!*"—a very large lion !" Mr Park's steed was ill fitted to convey him from the scene of danger ; but, seeing nothing, he supposed that the man was mistaken, when the latter exclaimed, "God preserve me !" and the traveller then saw a very large red lion, with his head couched between the fore-paws. His eyes were fixed as by fascination on this sovereign of the beasts, and he expected every moment the fatal spring ; but the savage animal, either not pressed by hunger, or struck with some mysterious awe, remained immovable, and allowed the party to pass unmolested. Real misery arose from a meaner cause, namely, the amazing swarms of mosquitoes which ascended from the swamps and creeks, to whose attack, from the ragged state of his garments, he was exposed at every point, and so covered over with blisters that at night he could get no rest. An affecting crisis next arrived : His horse, the faithful and suffering companion of his journey, had been daily becoming weaker. At length, stumbling over some rough ground, he fell : all his master's efforts were insufficient to raise him, and no alternative remained but,—after collecting some grass and laying it before him,—to leave the poor animal, not without a sad presentiment that, ere long, the rider himself might perish with hunger and fatigue.

Suffering
from mus-
quitoes.

Proceeding
by water.

He now hired a boat, and was conveyed up the river to Silla, another large town, where the dooty reluctantly permitted him to take shelter from the rain in a damp shed. Half-naked, worn down by fatigue and sickness

and foreseeing the approach of the wet season, by which the whole country would be inundated, he began to contemplate his situation with serious alarm. All other obstacles were small, when compared to the fact, that in proceeding eastward he would be brought more and more within the range of Moorish influence. 'He learned, that at Jenne, though included in Bambarra, the municipal power was chiefly in the hands of those fierce and merciless fanatics, who at Timbuctoo held the entire sway. On these grounds he felt convinced that certain destruction awaited him in his progress thither; that all his discoveries would perish with himself; and that his life would be sacrificed in vain. His only hope—and it was but faint—of ever reaching England, depended upon his turning westward, and proceeding by the most direct route to the coast. On this course he determined,—a decision which was fully approved both by his employers and by the public.

During his stay at Silla, he used every effort to obtain information respecting the more eastern countries, particularly the kingdom of Timbuctoo, and the line of the Niger. He was told that the next great city along that river was Jenne, which was represented as very flourishing, and larger than Sego or any other place in Bambarra. Lower down, the current spread out into an expanse, called Dibbie or the Dark Lake, so extensive, that in crossing it the canoes during a whole day lost sight of land. On the eastern side it again issued from this lake in two large branches, enclosing the alluvial country of Jinbala, and uniting once more in one channel, flowed on to Kabra, the port of Timbuctoo. That town, situated a day's journey northward from the Niger, was described to him as the great centre of the commerce carried on between the Moors and negroes, by means of which the former people had filled it with Mohammedan converts: it was added, that the king and his principal officers belonged to this faith, which was professed there with even more than the usual intolerance. An old negro related, that on his entering a public inn the landlord

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Increasing
dangers and
fears.

Moorish
fanaticism.

Information
obtained.

The Dark
Lake.

CHAP. VIII.

Imperfect
and exagger-
ated infor-
mation.

laid on the floor a mat and a rope, saying, "If you are a Mussulman, you are my friend; sit down on this mat: if not, you are my slave, and with this rope I will lead you to market." The sovereign, Abu Abrahima, was clothed in silk, lived in great pomp, and possessed immense riches; but there now appears reason to suspect that, in these reports, both the bigotry and the splendour of Timbuctoo were somewhat exaggerated. Beyond this city, eastward, there was said to be a great kingdom called Houssa, with a capital of the same name, situated on the river. This also was somewhat inaccurate: there is no city called Houssa; and the term is not applied to a kingdom, but to an extensive region comprehending many principalities, through which the Niger does not pass.

Agreeable
surprise.

Having formed his resolution, he forthwith began his return to the westward, and at Modiboo met with an unexpected and rather pleasing occurrence: While he was conversing with the dooty, a horse was heard to neigh; upon which the magistrate asked, smiling, if he knew who was speaking to him—and presently going out, led in the traveller's own horse, greatly recruited by rest. At first he drove the animal before him, but afterwards mounted, and found him of great benefit in passing the swamps and swollen rivulets which obstructed his route. He soon learned that dangers, even greater than he had feared, beset his path: The King of Bambarra had been at last so worked upon by Moorish counsellors, that, repenting even his former stinted kindness, he had sent messengers to apprehend Park, and to bring him a prisoner to Sego; from which fate he escaped only by the retrograde direction he had taken. From that time every door was resolutely shut against him; at Sansanding his best friend Counti Mamadi privately paid him a visit, and advised him to leave the place early next morning, and to make no delay in the vicinity. Accordingly, at a village near the capital he obtained a confirmation of these unfavourable tidings, and was exhorted to lose no time if he wished to get safe out of Bambarra. He then quitted the road, and struck

Increasing
dangers.

off through fields and swamps, at one time intending to swim across the Niger, and push towards the Gold Coast, but he afterwards resolved to pursue his course westward along the river, and thus ascertain its precise line. He had now nothing to subsist on except what charity bestowed, which was only an occasional handful of raw corn. There was also the greatest difficulty in finding a way through the swampy and inundated grounds. Once both his horse and he sunk to the neck in mud, and came out so completely besmeared that they were compared by the natives to two dirty elephants. At another time, when he had stripped and was leading his animal through a river that took him up to the neck, a friendly African called out, that he would perish if he went on, and undertook to procure a canoe; but when he came out, and his white skin was distinctly seen, the stranger put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming in a low tone of amazement, "God preserve me! what is this?" He continued his kindness, however; and at Taffaro, where our traveller was shut out from every house and obliged to sleep under a tree, brought him some supper. One of his most disagreeable adventures was at Souha, where the dooty, after a surly refusal of every refreshment, called a slave, and ordered him to dig a pit, uttering at the same time expressions of anger and vexation. The hole became deeper and deeper, till it assumed the appearance of a grave; and Park, who saw no one but himself to be put into it, began to think it high time to move off. At length, the slave went away, and then returned, holding by the leg and arm the naked corpse of a boy about nine years old, which he threw in with an air of savage unconcern, the master exclaiming, "*Naphula attiniata!*—money lost, money lost!" Our countryman withdrew in the deepest disgust at this display of brutal avarice. The only hearty meal he obtained for many days was from a Moslem convert, who, presenting a board, entreated him to write a saphie upon it, the return for which would be a good supper of rice and salt. This was too important an offer to be rejected on

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Following
the course of
the Niger

African
friendliness

Avarice of a
slave-owner

CHAP. VIII.

Reward for a
written
charm.

Arrival at
Bammakoo.

Hospitable
reception at
Kooma.

Meeting with
robbers.

account of nice scruples. He therefore covered the board with the Lord's Prayer, which his host carefully washed off and drank, afterwards licking the wood with his tongue. For this service, in addition to his evening repast, he received next morning a breakfast of meal and milk.

The traveller now arrived at Bammakoo, where the level country on this side of the Niger terminates ; but, on wishing to cross to the other bank, he was informed that the river would not be fordable for several months, and that no canoe could be procured large enough to transport himself and his horse. At length there was pointed out a path, rocky and difficult, but through which he might contrive to pick a way under the direction of a Jili-kea, or singing-man, who was going to Sibidooloo. The road, however, proved excessively rough and perilous, when his tuneful conductor, finding himself mistaken in the way, sprang up among the cliffs, and quickly disappeared. Mr Park was obliged to return and search among a number of glens, till he found a track marked by the tread of horses, which led him to Kooma, a beautiful sequestered village in the heart of those barren mountains, where, on the produce of a small fertile valley, the inhabitants lived in peaceful abundance. They showed that kind hospitality, which had been bestowed only scantily and occasionally in the still more fruitful regions below. Next day he set out for Sibidooloo ; but on this route his last and greatest disaster awaited him. In passing a rivulet he found a shepherd, who had been wounded by a party of banditti, and soon after saw a man sitting on the stump of a tree, while from among the grass appeared the heads of six or seven others, with muskets in their hands. Seeing it impossible to escape, he resolved to meet the danger with a fearless aspect. Pretending to take them for elephant-hunters, he went up and asked if their chase had been successful. Instead of answering, one of them ordered him to dismount ; but then, as if recollecting himself, he waved with his hand to proceed. The traveller had not gone far when he heard voices behind, and, looking round,

saw them all in full pursuit, calling to him that they were sent to carry him and his horse before the King of the Foulahs at Fooladoo. He did not attempt a vain resistance, but accompanied them till they came to a dark spot in the depth of the wood, when one of them said, "This place will do." The same man snatched off his hat; another instantly tore away the last remaining button from his waistcoat; the rest searched his pockets, and investigated, with the most scrupulous accuracy, every portion of his apparel; and at last they determined to make sure work by stripping him to the skin. As he pointed to his pocket-compass with earnest entreaty, one of them cocked a pistol, threatening, if he should touch it, to shoot him through the head. When retiring, they were seized with a feeling of remorse, and threw to him his worst shirt, a pair of trousers, and his hat, in the crown of which he kept his memoranda.

CHAP. VIII
Stripped and
robbed.

After this blow, Mr Park felt a deeper depression than he had experienced under any former disaster. Naked and alone in a vast wilderness, 500 miles from any settlement, surrounded by savage beasts and by men still more savage, he saw no prospect before him but to lie down and perish. From this depth of despondency his mind was suddenly revived by a mingled impression of nature and of religion: A small sprig of moss, in a state of fructification, struck his eye, the delicate conformation of whose roots, leaves, and capsule, could not be contemplated without admiration. He then bethought himself,—“Can that Being, who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure corner of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image?” Inspired by these just and pious reflections, he started up, went on despite of fatigue, and found deliverance to be nearer than he had any reason to anticipate.

Desolate
condition.

Return of
Hope.

Having arrived at Sibidooloo, he waited on the *mansa*, or chief ruler of the town, and related his misfortune; when the latter, taking his pipe from his mouth and

Arrival at
Sibidooloo.

CHAP. VIII.

Kind treatment by native chiefs.

tossing up his sleeve, said with an indignant air, "Sit down : you shall have every thing restored to you ; I have sworn it." He then ordered several of his people to go by daybreak next morning over the hills, and obtain the assistance of the dooty of Bammakoo in pursuing the robbers. Thus relieved, Mr Park remained two days in this hospitable village, but found it pressed by so severe a famine that he could not think of tasking their benevolence any longer, and went on to a town called Wonda. Here the mansa, who was at once chief magistrate and schoolmaster, received him with kindness ; but the dearth was felt there with equal severity. Remark- ing five or six women, who came daily to receive an allowance of corn from the dooty, he asked an explanation. "Look at that boy," said the local dignitary ; "his mother has sold him to me for fifty days' subsistence for herself and family." The traveller, having during his stay become very unwell, heard the hospitable land- lord and his wife lamenting the necessity of supporting him till he should either recover or die.

Recovery of his property.

After the lapse of nine days, messengers arrived from Sibidooloo with his horse, harness, clothes, and even the pocket-compass, though broken ; all of which had been recovered by the exertions of the mansa. The beast being reduced to a skeleton, and quite unfit for a journey over the flinty roads, was presented to his land- lord ; the saddle and bridle were sent to his generous friend at Sibidooloo. Then, sick as he was, the discoverer took leave, and went through several towns in the moun- tain-territory of Manding, where he was, on the whole, hospitably treated. His arrival at Kamalia formed a most important era. There he met Karfa Taura, a negro, who was collecting a coffle of slaves for the Gambia, and by whom he was told it was impossible at this season to traverse the Jallonka wilderness, in which there were eight rapid rivers to be crossed. He however, offered to support him in the interval, and conduct him at the proper season to the coast, asking only a reasonable compensation, which was fixed at the value of a prime

Meeting with Karfa Taura.

slave. Mr. Park was thus seasonably delivered from all his troubles, and obtained a more certain prospect of reaching home in safety.

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Seasonable
delivery
from his
troubles.

He no longer encountered those difficulties and vicissitudes which had rendered the former part of his journey so full of interest and adventure. In traversing the high countries of Manding, Konkodoo, and Dindikoo, his attention was much drawn to the patient industry of the natives, in collecting gold-dust by laborious washings of detrital sand. At the place where he crossed the Bafing, the principal head-stream of the Senegal, he was struck also with the rude ingenuity of a very curious bridge. "The river at this place," he says, "is smooth and deep, and has very little current. Two tall trees, when tied together by the tops, are sufficiently long to reach from one side to the other, the roots resting upon the rocks, and the tops floating in the water. When a few trees have been placed in this direction, they are covered with dry bamboos, so as to form a floating bridge, with a sloping gangway at each end, where the trees rest upon the rocks." The bridge is renewed every year, the old one being always swept away by the floods of the rainy season.

Curious
bridge across
the Bafing.

The most formidable part of the journey homeward was through the vast and very dense forest of Jallonka, in which the caravan travelled during five days without seeing a single human habitation. They marched in close and regular order, to protect the party against the attack of wild beasts, whose roarings were heard continually around them, and to which every one who straggled was sure to fall a victim. Such, too probably, was the lot of Nealee, a female slave, who, either from obstinacy or excessive fatigue, refused to proceed any farther; and after vain attempts to compel her by the whip, she was abandoned to her fate. On emerging from this wood, they had no difficulty in passing through the fine open country of Dentilla and the smaller wilderness of Tenda. Mr. Park was now again on the

Journey
through the
forest of
Jallonka.

CHAP. VIII.

Reception of
Park at
Pisania

Gambia ; and, on the 10th June 1797, reached Pisania, where he was received as one risen from the dead ; for all the traders from the interior had believed and reported, that, like Major Houghton, he was murdered by the Moors of Ludamar. Karfa, his benefactor, received double the stipulated price, and was overpowered with gratitude ; but when he saw the commodious furniture, the skilful manufactures, the superiority in all the arts of life, displayed by Europeans, compared with the attainments of his countrymen, he was deeply mortified, and exclaimed, "Black men are nothing !" expressing his surprise that any one could find a motive for coming to so miserable a land as Africa.

Difficulty in
reaching
home.

The traveller had some difficulty in reaching home. He was obliged to embark, on the 15th June, in a vessel bound to America, and was afterwards driven by stress of weather to the Island of Antigua, whence he sailed on the 24th November, and on the 22d December landed at Falmouth. He arrived in London before dawn on the morning of Christmas-day, and in the garden of the British Museum accidentally met his brother-in-law Mr Dickson. Two years having elapsed since any tidings of him reached England, he had been given up for lost ; so that his friends and the public were equally astonished and delighted by his reappearance. The report of his unexpected return, after making such splendid discoveries, kindled throughout the nation a higher enthusiasm than had perhaps been excited by the result of any former mission of the same nature. To satisfy the public impatience, an outline was drawn up by Mr Bryan Edwards, accompanied with learned geographical illustrations by Major Rennell. The entire narrative was published early in 1799, and besides the interest inseparable from the remarkable events described, the merit of being written in a pleasing and animated style has rendered it one of the most popular books in the English language.

Enthusiasm
excited by
his return.

CHAPTER IX.

Park's Second Journey.

Views under which he was sent out—Departure—Overtaken by the rainy Season—Great Sickness and Distress—Embarks on the Niger—Negotiations with the King of Bambarra—Obtains Permission to build a Vessel—Sansanding—Sets sail—Accounts of his Death.

THE discoveries of Park in his first journey, though the most splendid made by any modern traveller, rather excited than satisfied the national curiosity. The Niger had been seen flowing eastward into the interior of Africa; and hence a still deeper interest and mystery were suspended over the future course and termination of that great central stream. Kingdoms had been discovered, more flourishing and more populous than any formerly known in that continent; but other kingdoms, still greater and wealthier, were reported to exist in regions which he had vainly attempted to reach. The lustre of his achievements had diffused among the public in general an ardour for discovery, which was formerly confined to a few enlightened individuals. It was evident, however, that the efforts of no private association could penetrate the depths of the African continent, and overcome the obstacle presented by its distance, its deserts, and its barbarism. Hence, George III., the patron and employer of the celebrated Cook, was induced to come forward again as the promoter of discovery in this new sphere; and accordingly, in October 1801, Mr Park was invited by government to undertake an expedition on a larger scale. Having in the mean time mar-

CHAP. IX.

Effects of
Park's
journey.

Royal
patronage.

CHAP. IX.

Park's settle-
ment at
Peebles.

Ideas of the
course of the
Niger.

Proposed
exploring
party.

ried the daughter of Mr Anderson, with whom he had served his apprenticeship as a surgeon, and having entered with some success on the practice of his profession in the town of Peebles, it was supposed that, content with laurels so dearly earned, he had renounced a life of peril and adventure. But none of these ties could detain him, when the invitation was given to renew and complete his splendid career, on which, indeed, his mind had been brooding with enthusiastic ardour. He had held much intercourse with Mr Maxwell, a gentleman who had long commanded a vessel in the African trade, by whom he was persuaded that the Congo, which, since its discovery by the Portuguese, had been almost lost sight of by Europeans, would prove to be the channel by which the Niger, after watering all the regions of Interior Africa, enters the Atlantic. The scientific world were very much disposed to adopt the same views on this subject; and, accordingly, the whole plan of the expedition was adjusted with an avowed reference to them. But the agitation of the public mind, by the change of ministry and the war with France, delayed farther proceedings till 1804, when he was desired by Lord Camden, the colonial secretary, to form his arrangements, with an assurance of being supplied with every means necessary for their accomplishment. The course which he now suggested, as the result of his dearly-bought experience, was, that he should no longer travel as a single and unprotected wanderer. He proposed to take with him a small party, who, being well armed and disciplined, might face almost any force which the natives could oppose to them; with these he meant to proceed direct to Sego; where he intended to build two boats 40 feet long, and thence to sail downwards to the estuary of the Congo. Instructions were accordingly sent out to Goree, that he should be furnished liberally with men and every thing else of which he might stand in need.

Mr Park sailed from Portsmouth in the Crescent transport on the 30th January 1805. About the 8th March he arrived at the Cape Verd Islands; and on the

28th reached Goree. There he was joined by an officer and thirty-five soldiers, and he provided himself with asses from the Islands, where the breed of these animals is excellent, and which appeared well fitted for traversing the rugged hills of the high country whence issue the infant streams of the Senegal and Niger. He took with him also two sailors and four artificers, who had been sent from England. But before all these measures could be completed a month had elapsed, and it was then evident that the rainy season could not be far distant,—a period in which travelling is very difficult and trying to European constitutions. It is manifest, therefore, that he ought to have remained at Goree or Pisanía till that sickly period had passed; but, in his enthusiastic state of mind, it would have been extremely painful to linger so long on the eve of his grand and favourite undertaking. He hoped, and it seemed possible, that before the middle of June, when the rains usually begin, he might reach the Niger, which could then be navigated without any serious toil or exposure. He departed, therefore, with his little band on the fourth day of May, and proceeded through Medina, along the banks of the Gambia. With so strong a party, he was no longer dependent on the protection of the petty kings and manzas; but the natives, seeing him so well provided, thought he had now no claim on their hospitality; on the contrary, they eagerly seized every opportunity to obtain some of the valuable articles which they saw in his possession. Thefts were frequent; the kings drove a hard bargain for presents; and at one place the women, with immense labour, had emptied all the wells, that they might derive an advantage from selling the water. Submitting quietly to these little annoyances, Mr Park proceeded along the Gambia, till he saw it flowing from the south between the hills of Foota Jallo and a high mountain called Muíanta. Turning his face almost due west, he passed the streams of the Ba Lee, the Ba Fing, and the Ba Woollima, the three principal tributaries of the Senegal. This change of direction led him through

CHAP. IX.

Arrival at
Goree.Unwise
haste.Depredations
of the
natives.Course of
the Gambia.

CHAP. IX.

Romantic
character of
the villages.

a tract much more pleasing than that passed in his dreary return through Jallonka and its wilderness. The villages, built in delightful mountain-glens and looking from their elevated precipices over a great extent of wooded plain, appeared romantic beyond any thing he had ever seen. The rocks near Sullo assumed every possible diversity of form, towering like ruined castles, spires, and pyramids. One mass of granite so strongly resembled the remains of a Gothic abbey, with its niches and ruined staircase, that it required some time to satisfy him of its being wholly the work of nature. The crossing of the rivers, now considerably swelled, was attended with many difficulties ; and in one of them Isaaco the guide was nearly devoured by a crocodile.

Beginning of
the rainy
season.

It was near Satadoo, soon after passing the Faleme, that the party experienced the first tornado, which, marking the commencement of the rainy season, proved for them "the beginning of sorrows." On such occasions, violent storms of thunder and lightning are followed by deluges of rain, which cover the ground three feet deep, and have a peculiarly malignant influence on the European frame. In three days twelve men were on the sick-list ; and the natives, as they saw the strength of the expedition decline, became more bold and frequent in their predatory attacks. At Gimbia, accordingly, attempts were made to overpower, by main force, the whole party, and seize all they possessed ; but by merely presenting their muskets, the assault was repelled without bloodshed. At Maniakorra the whole population hung on their rear for a considerable time, headed by thirty of the king's sons ; and great delicacy was felt as to the mode of dealing with these august thieves, so long as their proceedings were not quite intolerable. One of them came up and engaged Mr Park in conversation, while another ran off with his fowling-piece ; and, on his attempting pursuit, the first took the opportunity of seizing his great-coat. Orders were now given to fire on all depredators, royal or plebeian ; and after a few shots had been discharged, without producing any fatal effects, the thieves concealed

Royal band
of depredators.

themselves among the rocks, and were merely seen peeping through the crevices.

CHAP. IX.

The expedition continued to melt away beneath the deadly influence of an African climate. Every day added to the list of sick or dead, or of those who declared themselves unable to proceed. Near Bangassi, four men lay down at once ; it was even with difficulty that Mr Park dragged forward his brother-in-law Mr Anderson, while he himself felt very sick and faint. His spirits were about to sink entirely, when, coming to an eminence, he obtained a distant view of the mountains, the southern base of which he knew to be watered by the Niger. Then indeed he forgot his fever, and thought only of climbing the blue hills which delighted his eyes.

Deadly influences of the climate.

But before he could arrive at that desired point, three weeks elapsed, during which he experienced the greatest difficulty and suffering. At length he reached the summit of the ridge which divides the Senegal from the Joliba, and coming to the brow of the hill, saw again this majestic river rolling its immense stream along the plain. Yet his situation and prospects were gloomy indeed, when compared to those with which he had left the banks of the Gambia. Of thirty-eight men whom he then had with him, there survived only seven, all suffering from severe sickness, and some nearly at the last extremity. Still his mind was full of the most sanguine hope, especially when, on the 22d August, he felt himself floating on the waters of his favourite stream, and advancing towards the ultimate object of his ambition. He hired canoes to convey his party to Marraboo ; and the river, here a mile in breadth, was so full and so deep, that its current carried him easily over the rapids, but with a velocity which was in a certain degree painful.

Great difficulties and suffering.

From the place just named he sent the interpreter Isaaco to Mansong, with part of the presents, to treat with that monarch for protection, as well as for permission to build a boat. This envoy was absent several days, during which, great anxiety was felt, heightened by several unfavourable rumours, among which was, that

Treaty with a native prince.

CHAP. IX

Favourable
reception of
his mes-
senger.

Singular pro-
ceedings of
the king.

Politic mes-
sage of Park

the king had killed him with his own hand, and announced his purpose to do the same to every white man that should come within his reach. These fears were dispelled by the appearance of the royal songster, who brought a message of welcome, with an invitation to repair to Sego, and deliver in person the remaining presents intended for the monarch. At Samee the party met Isaaco, who reported that there was something very odd in his reception by Mansong. That prince assured him, in general, that the expedition would be allowed to pass down the Niger; but whenever the envoy came to particulars, and proposed an interview with Mr Park, the king began to draw squares and triangles with his finger on the sand; and in this geometrical operation his mind seemed wholly absorbed. Isaaco suspected that he laboured under some superstitious dread of white men, and sought by these figures to defend himself against their magic influence. It was finally arranged that the presents should be delivered, not to the sovereign himself, but to Modibinne, his prime minister, who was to come to Samee for that purpose. He accordingly appeared, and began by requiring, in his royal master's name, why Park had come to Bambarra with so great a train from so distant a country,—allowing him a day to prepare his reply. Next morning the traveller gave an answer in form, representing his mission as chiefly commercial, and holding forth the advantages which Bambarra might reap by receiving foreign goods directly from the coast, instead of circuitously, as now, through Morocco, the Desert, Timbuctoo, and Jenne, having a profit levied upon them at every transfer. Modibinne expressed satisfaction both with the reasons and with the presents; and on his return next day, offered, on the part of Mansong, the option of building a boat either at Samee, Sego, Sansanding, or Jenne. He chose Sansanding, thereby enabling the barbarian ruler to avoid all intercourse with Europeans, of whom he seemed to entertain so mysterious a dread.

The voyage down the river was distressing; for, though

the fatigue of travelling was avoided, the heat was so intense that it was thought sufficient to have roasted a sirloin: and the sick had thus no chance of recovery. Sansanding was found a prosperous and flourishing town, with a crowded market remarkably well arranged. The principal articles, which were cloth of Houssa or Jenne, antimony, beads, and indigo, were each arranged in stalls, shaded by mats from the rays of the sun. There was a separate place for salt, the main article of their trade. The whole presented a scene of commercial order and activity totally unlooked for in the interior of Africa.

CHAP. IX.

Great suffering from the heat.

Mansong had promised to furnish two boats; but they were late in arriving, and also proved very defective. In order to raise money, it was necessary to sell a considerable quantity of goods. Nor was it without much trouble that the two skiffs were finally converted into the schooner Joliba, forty feet long, six broad, and drawing only one foot of water,—the fittest form for navigating the river downward to the ocean.

Tardy supply of defective boats.

During Park's stay at Sansanding he had the misfortune to lose his brother-in-law Mr Anderson, to whom his attachment was so strong as to make him say,—“No event which took place during the journey ever threw the smallest gloom over my mind till I laid Mr Anderson in the grave. I then felt myself as if left a second time lonely and friendless amidst the wilds of Africa.” Though the party was now reduced to five Europeans, one of whom was deranged, and though the most gloomy anticipations could not fail to arise in the mind of our traveller, his firmness was in no degree shaken. He announced in a letter to Lord Camden his fixed purpose to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt; adding,—“Though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half-dead, I would still persevere.” To his wife he stated the same determination, combined with the utmost confidence of success; and the commencement of his voyage down the Niger, through the

Death of Anderson.

Indomitable firmness of Park.

CHAP. IX. vast unknown regions of Interior Africa, he called
 ——— “turning his face towards England.”

Park's last
 voyage.

Despatch of
 the guide
 Isaaco.

Angry com-
 plaints of a
 native king.

It was on the 17th November 1805 that the discoverer began his last voyage. A long interval elapsed without any tidings, which, considering the great distance and the many causes of delay, did not at first excite alarm in his friends. As the following year, however, passed on, rumours of an unpleasant nature began to prevail. Alarmed by these, and feeling a deep interest in his fate, Governor Maxwell of Sierra Leone employed Isaaco the guide, who had been sent to the Gambia with despatches from the Niger, to undertake a fresh journey to inquire after him. At Sansanding, he was so far fortunate as to meet Amadi Fatouma, who had been engaged to succeed himself as interpreter; and from him he received a journal purporting to contain the narrative of the voyage down the river, and of its final issue. The party, it would appear, had purchased three slaves, who, with the five Europeans and Fatouma, increased their number to nine. They passed Silla and Jenne in a friendly manner; but at Rakbara (Kabra) and Timbuctoo they were attacked by several armed individuals, who were repelled only by a smart and destructive fire. No particulars are given of any of those important places; nor of Kaffo, Gotoijege, and others, which the adventurers are represented as having afterwards passed. At length they came to the village (more properly city) of Yaour, where Amadi left the others, his services having been secured only to that point. He had, however, scarcely taken his leave, when he was summoned before the king, who bitterly complained that the white men, though they brought many valuable commodities with them, had gone by without giving him any presents. He therefore ordered that Fatouma should be thrown into irons, and a body of troops sent in pursuit of the English. These men reached Boussa, and took possession of a pass, where rocks, which hem in the river, allow only a narrow channel for vessels to descend. When Park arrived, he found the passage thus obstructed, but at-

tempted, nevertheless, to push his way through. "The people began to attack him, throwing lances, pikes, arrows, and stones. He defended himself a long time; when two of his slaves at the stern of the vessel were killed. The crew threw every thing they had into the river, and kept firing; but being overpowered by numbers and fatigue, unable to keep up the boat against the current, and seeing no probability of escaping, Mr Park took hold of one of the white men, and jumped into the water. Others did the same, and they were all drowned in the stream in attempting to escape. The only slave that remained in the schooner, seeing the natives persist in throwing weapons into it without ceasing, stood up and said to them,—‘Stop throwing now; you see nothing in the canoe, and nobody but myself; therefore cease. Take me and the canoe, but don’t kill me.’ They took possession of both, and carried them to the king."

CHAP. IX.

Attack on
Park's
vessel.

Death of the
whole party.

These sad tidings, conveyed in course to England, were not for a long time received with general belief; for the statement, being sifted with care, was thought to contain inconsistencies, as well as such a degree of improbability as left some room for hope. But year after year elapsed, and this expectation died away. Denham and Clapperton, when in the country, received accounts from various quarters which very nearly coincided with those of Amadi Fatouma. Park's adventures, they found, had excited the deepest interest throughout Africa. In his last journey Clapperton even saw the spot where he perished, which, allowing for some exaggeration, did not ill correspond with the description just given. Nay, he received notice, as we shall hereafter see, that the manuscripts belonging to the enterprising Scotchman were in the possession of the King of Yaour, who offered to deliver them up on condition that the captain would pay him a visit, which he declined; and indeed, from what occurred to Lander, it appeared to be only a snare, by which this perfidious prince sought to get him into his power.

Incredulity
in England.

Information
obtained
regarding
him.

CHAPTER X.

Various Travellers.

Horneman—Nicholls—Roentgen—Adams—Riley.

CHAP X.
 —
 Recommendation of
 Frederic
 Horneman.

Acceptance
 of his offers.

Sanction by
 the associa-
 tion.

It has been thought advisable to trace without interruption the interesting career of Park from its commencement to its close. Between his two expeditions, however, another was performed which appeared to open under very favourable auspices. Frederic Horneman, a student of the University of Göttingen, communicated to Blumenbach, the celebrated natural historian, his ardent desire to explore the interior of Africa under the auspices of the Association. The professor transmitted to that body a strong recommendation of the candidate, as a young man, active, athletic, and temperate, knowing sickness only by name, and of respectable literary and scientific attainments. Sir Joseph Banks immediately wrote,—“If Mr Horneman be really the character you describe, he is the very person whom we are in search of.” On receiving this encouragement, the youth immediately applied his mind to the study of natural history and the Arabic language, and otherwise sought to fit himself for supporting the character, which he intended to assume, of an Arab and a Moslem, under which he hoped to escape the effects of that ferocious bigotry which had opposed so fatal a bar to the progress of his predecessors.

In May 1797 he repaired to London, where his appointment was forthwith sanctioned by the Association; and having obtained a passport from the Directory, who then

governed France, he visited Paris, and was introduced to some leading members of the National Institute. He reached Egypt in September, and after spending ten days at Alexandria, set out for Cairo, to wait the departure of the Kashna caravan. The interval was employed in acquiring the language of the Mograbin Arabs, a tribe bordering on the Nile. While he was at Cairo, tidings arrived of Bonaparte's landing in that country, when the just indignation of the natives vented itself upon all Europeans, and among others on the German, who was arrested and confined in the castle. He was relieved upon the victorious entry of the French commander, who, besides restoring him to freedom, very liberally offered money, and every other supply which might contribute to the success of his mission.

It was the 5th of September 1798, before Horneman could find a caravan proceeding to the westward, when he joined the one destined for Fezzan. The travellers soon passed the cultivated land of Egypt, and entered on an expanse of sandy waste, such as the bottom of the ocean might exhibit if the waters were to retire. This desert was covered with the fragments, as it were, of a petrified forest; large trunks, branches, twigs, and even pieces of bark, being scattered over it. Sometimes these stony remains were brought in by mistake as fuel. When the caravan halted for the night, each individual dug a hole in the sand, gathered a few sticks, and prepared his victuals after the African fashion of kouskous, soups, or puddings. Horneman, according to his European habits, at first employed the services of another; but finding himself thus exposed to contempt or suspicion, he soon followed the example of the rest, and became his own cook.

There are, as is well known, several oases in this immense waste. Ten days brought the caravan to Ummesogeir, a village situated on a rock, with 120 inhabitants, who, separated by deserts from the rest of the world, pass a peaceful and hospitable life, subsisting on dates, the chief produce of their arid soil.

CHAP. X.

Journey by
Paris to
Egypt.

Joins the
caravan to
Fezzan.

African
manners.

Arrival at
Ummesogeir

CHAP. X.

Settlement of
Siwah

Another day's journey brought them to Siwah, a more extensive settlement, the territory of which is estimated by the discoverer to be fifty miles in circumference. It yields, with little culture, various descriptions of grain and vegetables; but its wealth consists chiefly in large gardens of dates, baskets of which fruit form here the standard of value. The government is vested in a very turbulent aristocracy of about thirty chiefs, who meet in council in the vicinity of the town-wall, and, in the contests which frequently arise, make violent and sudden appeals to arms. The chief question in respect to Siwah is, whether it does or does not comprise the site of the celebrated shrine of Jupiter Ammon,—that object of awful veneration to the nations of antiquity, and which Alexander himself, the greatest of its heroes, underwent excessive toil and peril to visit and associate with his name. This insulated domain does in fact contain springs, and a small edifice with walls six feet thick, partly painted and adorned with hieroglyphs. There are also antique tombs in the neighbouring mountains; but as the subsequent discoveries of Belzoni and Edmonstone have proved that similar features exist in other oases scattered in different directions along the desert borders of Egypt, some uncertainty must perhaps for ever rest on this curious question.

Supposed
site of the
shrine of
Jupiter
Ammon.

Pursuit of
the caravan.

The route now passed through a region, still indeed barren, yet not presenting such a monotonous plain of sand as intervenes between Egypt and Siwah. It was bordered by precipitous limestone rocks, which contain numerous shells and marine remains. The caravan, while proceeding along these wild tracts, were alarmed by a tremendous braying of asses; and, on looking back, they saw several hundreds of the people of Siwah armed and in full pursuit, mounted on these useful animals. The scouts, however, soon brought an assurance that they came with intentions perfectly peaceable, having merely understood that in the company there were two Christians from Cairo; on being allowed to kill whom, they would permit the others to proceed unmolested. All Horne-

man's address and firmness were required in this fearful crisis. He opposed the most resolute denial to the assertions of the Siwahans; he opened the Koran, and displayed the facility with which he could read its pages; he even challenged his adversaries to answer him on points of Mohammedan faith. His companions in the caravan, who took a pride in defending one of their members, insisted that he had cleared himself thoroughly from the imputation of being an infidel; and as they were joined by several of the natives, the whole body finally renounced their bloody purpose, and turned their faces homeward.

CHAP. X.

Address of
Hornemann.

The travellers next passed through Augila, a town so ancient as to be mentioned by Herodotus; but now small, dirty, and supported solely by the passage of the inland trade. They then entered the Black Harutsch, a long range of dreary mountains (*Mons Ater* of the Romans), through the successive defiles of which they found only a narrow track enclosed by rugged steeps and obstructed by loose stones. Every valley, too, and ravine into which they looked, seemed still more wild and desolate than the road itself. A gayer scene succeeded when they advanced into that district of limestone mountains which is called the White Harutsch. The rocks and stones here appeared as if glazed, abounding in shells and other marine petrifications, and, on being broken, presented a vitrified aspect.

Entry of the
Black
Harutsch.

After a painful route of sixteen days through this solitary region, the travellers were cheered by seeing before them the Great Oasis, or small kingdom of Fezzan. Both at Temissa, the frontier town, and at Zuila, the ancient capital, which is still inhabited by many rich merchants, they were received with rapturous demonstrations of joy. The arrival of a caravan is the chief event which diversifies the existence of the citizens, and diffuses through the country animation and wealth. At Mourzouk, the modern metropolis, the reception was more solemn and pompous. The sultan himself awaited their approach on a small eminence, seated in an arm-chair

Sight of the
kingdom of
Fezzan.

CHAP. X.

Royal recep-
tion of the
pilgrims.

Dimmen-
sions of
Fezzan.

Source of its
importance.

Important
information
acquired.

ornamented with cloth of various colours, and forming a species of throne. Each pilgrim, on approaching the royal seat, put off his sandals, kissed the sovereign's hand, and took his station behind, when the whole assembly joined in a chant of pious gratitude.

Fezzan, according to Horneman, has a length of 300 and a breadth of 200 miles, and is much the largest of all the oases which enliven the immense desert of Northern Africa. It relieves, however, in only an imperfect degree, the parched appearance of the surrounding region. It is not irrigated by a river nor even by any considerable stream; the grain produced is insufficient for its small population, supposed to amount to seventy or seventy-five thousand; and few animals are reared except the ass, the goat, and the camel. Dates, as in all lands of this description, form the chief article of produce; but Fezzan derives its main importance from being the centre of that immense traffic which gives activity and wealth to Interior Africa. Mourzouk, in the dry season, forms a rendezvous for the caravans proceeding from Egypt, Morocco, and Tripoli, to the great countries on the banks of the Joliba. Yet the trade is carried on less by the inhabitants themselves than by the Tibboos, the Tuaricks, and other wandering tribes of the Desert, concerning whom our traveller collected some information, but less ample than Lyon and Denham afterwards obtained from personal observation. Of Timbuctoo he did not learn much, Morocco being the chief quarter whence merchants repair to that celebrated seat of commerce; but respecting the eastern part of Soudan he received intelligence much more accurate than had hitherto reached Europe. Houssa was for the first time understood to be, not a single country or city, but a region comprehending many kingdoms, the people of which are said to be the handsomest, most industrious, and most intelligent in that part of Africa, being particularly distinguished for their manufacture of fine cloths. Among the states mentioned were Kashna, Kano, Daura, Solan, Noro, Nyffe, Cabi, Zanfara, and Guber. Most of these were tributary to

Bornou, here described as decidedly the most powerful kingdom in Central Africa; and which really was so before the rise of the Fellata empire caused, in this respect, a remarkable change. The Niger, according to the unanimous belief in the northern provinces, was said to flow from Timbuctoo eastward through Houssa, and hold the same direction till it joined or rather became the Bahr-el-Abiad, the main stream of the Egyptian Nile. Prevalent as this opinion is among the Arabs, late discoveries have proved it to be entirely erroneous; the river or rivers which water Houssa being wholly distinct from that great stream which flows through Bambarra and Timbuctoo.

CHAP. X.

Ideas as to
the course of
the Niger.

Horneman, after remaining some time at Mourzouk, had resolved to join a caravan about to proceed southwards into the interior; but, upon observing that the cavalcade consisted almost wholly of black traders, any connexion or intercourse with whom was likely to afford him little favour in the eyes of the Moors, he was induced to forego this purpose,—more especially as there was the greatest reason to apprehend obstruction in passing through the country of the Tuaricks, then at war with Fezzan. He was informed, besides, that caravans from Bornou occasionally terminated their journey at Mourzouk, and again returned south; by one of which, under more propitious circumstances, he hoped to accomplish his object. These considerations determined him to postpone his departure, resolving in the meanwhile, with the view of forwarding his despatches to London, to visit Tripoli; where, however, he did not arrive till the 19th August 1799, having been detained a considerable time by sickness. After remaining in this city about three months, he returned to Mourzouk; nor was it till the 6th April 1800, that he departed thence for the southward, in company with two shereefs, who had given him assurances of friendship and protection. His letters were filled with the most sanguine hopes of success. But the lapse of two years without any tidings threw a damp on the cheering expectations thus raised in the Association

Obstacles to
proceeding
to the
interior

Visit to
Tripoli.

CHAP. X.

—
Last ac-
counts of
Horneman.

and the public. In September 1803, a Fezzan merchant informed Mr Nissen, the Danish consul at Tripoli, that Yusuph, as Horneman had chosen to designate himself, was seen alive and well on his way to Gondasch, with the intention of proceeding to the coast and of returning to Europe. Another Moorish trader afterwards informed Mr M'Donogh, our consul at Tripoli, that he was in safety at Kashna in June 1803, and was there highly respected as a Mussulman marabout or saint. Major Denham afterwards learned that he had penetrated across Africa as far as Nyffe on the Niger, where he fell a victim, not to any hostility on the part of the natives, but to disease arising from the climate. A young man was even met with who professed to be his son, though there was some doubt as to the grounds of his claim to that character.

New volun-
teer.

The Association, when their hopes from Horneman had failed, began to look round for other adventurers; and there was still a number of active and daring spirits ready to brave the dangers of this undertaking. Mr Nicholls, in 1804, repaired to Calabar, in the Gulf of Benin, with the view of penetrating into the interior by this route, which appeared shorter than any other, but without any presentiment that the termination of the Niger was to be found in this quarter. He was well received by the chiefs on the coast, but could not gain much intelligence respecting the river, being informed that most of the slaves came from the west, and that the navigation of the Calabar, at no great distance, was interrupted by an immense waterfall, beyond which the surface of the country became very elevated. Unfortunately, of all the sickly climates of Africa this is perhaps the most pestilential; and Mr Nicholls, even before he commenced his journey, fell a victim to the epidemic fever.

Untimely
fate of
Nicholls.

Roentgen.

Another German, named Roentgen, recommended also by Blumenbach, undertook to penetrate into the bosom of Africa by way of Morocco. He was described as possessing an unblemished character, ardent zeal in the

cause, with great strength both of mind and body. Like Horneman, he made himself master of Arabic, and proposed to pass for a Mohammedan. Having, in 1809, arrived at Mogadore, he hired two guides, and set out to join the Soudan caravan ; but his career was short indeed, for his body was soon afterwards found at a little distance from the place whence he started. No information could ever be obtained as to the particulars of his death ; though it was conjectured with too much probability that he was murdered for the sake of his property.

CHAP. X
—
Death of
Roentgen.

The public mind, meantime, continued fixed with intense interest on Africa, and every channel by which even the most imperfect information could be obtained was carefully examined. Much attention was at one time excited by tidings derived from a foreign and rather doubtful source. The African coast from Morocco to the Senegal is singularly perilous, beset with numerous sand-banks, and without either port or shelter. On one of these banks the American ship *Charles* struck on the morning of 11th October 1810, and was so surrounded by breakers as to leave no hope of escaping total wreck. The sailors, who swam ashore, were soon after daybreak attacked by a band of Moors,—a race ever on the watch for plunder. The captain was killed, apparently in consequence of rash and violent behaviour ; but the crew were taken prisoners, and divided among the barbarians. Adams, one of the mariners, according to his own statement, was carried to the border of Bambarra, where the Mussulmen, who by the practice of slave-stealing had roused the hostility of the natives, were surprised, made captive, and after four days' confinement, marched to Timbuctoo. His fierce companions, upon being presented to the king, were thrown into prison ; but he himself, being regarded as a curiosity, was retained in the palace, where he became a particular favourite of the queen, who used to sit gazing at him for hours. He remained there six months, well treated, and even caressed, when a party of Moorish traders arrived, ransomed their countrymen, and Adams along with them.

Continued
public
interest.

Wreck of the
American
ship *Charles*.

Reception of
one of the
crew at Tim-
buctoo.

CHAP. X.

Crossing the
desert.

Liberation at
Mogadore.

Suspicious of
the truth of
his narra-
tive.

Picture of
Timbuctoo.

The caravan reached Taudeny in thirteen days ; after which they were obliged to march twenty-nine days over a desert, where there was neither plant nor shrub,—not so much as a blade of grass, nor a drop of water. Finding a spring dry, the prospect of which had sustained their hope, they gave way to despair ; some perished, and the rest dispersed in search of other wells. The American having reached Vled Duleem, fell again under the power of the wild wanderers of the desert, and was carried from place to place, suffering extreme hardships ; but at length he found, at Wedinoon, three of his old shipmates, who, like himself, were immediately liberated by the humane interposition of M. Dupuis, British consul at Mogadore. He proceeded thence to London, with the view of obtaining a passage for his native country, and was found in the streets of that capital by a gentleman who took a deep interest in African affairs, and who communicated the circumstance to Mr Cox, secretary to the Association. Adams was then strictly examined, and his statements taken down in writing ; while M. Dupuis, the consul, who happened to be in town, confirmed the general fact of his shipwreck and captivity. Hence there appeared little room to doubt the correctness of his relation. The remarks, however, of M. Graberg de Hemso, Swedish consul at Tripoli, afterwards given in the *Foreign Review*, seem to justify the suspicion that his narrative was in the main fictitious ; that though he was cast ashore on the Sahara, it was in 1811 instead of 1810 as he asserted ; and that never having been south of Cape Blanco, he could not have known Timbuctoo except by report. His real name, besides, was Benjamin Rose. At all events, he appears to have made diligent inquiries as to the state of the country ; and his details, accordingly, as corrected by M. Dupuis, enabled the public to form a pretty accurate opinion respecting Timbuctoo.

The picture drawn by him of this city was different from that hitherto presented to Europeans, and in many respects quite the reverse of it. There was said to exist nothing of that uncontrolled sway and fierce intolerance

of the Moors, the belief of which was so strongly impressed upon Park. On the contrary, the king and all his principal officers were negroes; the few religious ceremonies observed were pagan; and the Moslem traders were allowed to enter the town only in small numbers, and under very rigid restrictions. This statement, which appeared at first improbable, has, however, been confirmed by subsequent accounts. The rumours that bigotry prevailed to such an extent in this seat of commerce were, we may presume, exaggerated from the very first; but L'Hagi Mohammed, a resident at the Well of Aroan, told M. Cahill of Rabat, that, subsequently to Mr Park's first journey, the King of Bambarra had conquered Timbuctoo, and established there a negro government. This is confirmed by Mr Jackson, and agrees also with the report which we shall find to be given by Riley. The description of that city, again, corresponded very little to the ideas formerly entertained of its great pomp and splendour. The most spacious mansions could scarcely rank above huts, being composed of timber frames filled with earth, and only one story high; while the habitations of the lower orders were formed by putting together branches of trees, and covering them with mats made of the palmetto. Even the king's palace, or citadel, was represented as only a collection of apartments on the ground floor, enclosed by a mud wall. This, in fact, is an exact description of all the African towns, where lofty structures of solid stone, in which consists the magnificence of European capitals, are totally unknown. The queen, immensely fat, was rather splendidly dressed in blue nankeen (the fine cotton cloth of the country dyed with indigo) edged with gold lace, and was lavishly ornamented with necklaces and earrings of gold. The inhabitants, like most negroes, were good-humoured, extremely gay, somewhat dissolute, and passionately fond of dancing, in which they spent great part of the night. Yet they had furious quarrels, in deciding which they employed, with desperation, not only the fist, but even the teeth. Slaves, the commodity always most

CHAP. X.

Description
of its inhabi-
tants.

Change of
government
at Tim-
buctoo.

Native
palace and
dwellings.

Dress of the
queen.

CHAP. X.

Capture of
slaves.

eagerly sought after by the Moors, were procured by those marauding expeditions which are the disgrace and scourge of Central Africa. The citizens set out monthly in parties varying from one hundred to five, and usually returned with a large supply. Slavery is, moreover, the punishment for all great offences, though it is not very frequently inflicted.

Wreck of the
American
brig Com-
merce.

James Riley, supercargo of the American brig Commerce, sailing from Gibraltar to the Cape de Verd Islands, found himself suddenly involved in fog, and, on the 28th August 1815, the vessel ran aground in the neighbourhood of Cape Bojador. The crew, on landing, were assailed by a small band of armed natives, whose appearance indicated the utmost degree of poverty and ferocity. They began forthwith an indiscriminate plunder; emptied trunks, boxes, and casks, cut open the beds, and amused themselves with seeing the feathers fly before the wind. The sailors, in the mean while, were endeavouring to patch up their long-boat as a means of escape, but were greatly mortified, on the approach of dawn, to observe from their shattered wreck, on which they had passed a melancholy night, a much more numerous band of those merciless savages. By perfidious gestures addressed to the captain, they now induced Mr Riley to land; upon which they put their daggers to his breast. He contrived, however, by stratagem to escape to the long-boat, which was attached to the ship; and the crew immediately pushed out to sea, resolving to brave all the dangers of that element. Accordingly they worked a little way along the shore, incessantly employed in baling their crazy bark; but as the leaks increased, while provisions and water failed, he and his men came to the conclusion, that by remaining at sea they must perish, whereas on land they might escape. They came again on the coast near Cape Barbas on the 8th September, but finding it to consist of perpendicular rocks, they walked four miles, and finally clambered up broken fragments, almost at the risk of life, ere they could reach the summit. But what a scene was there

Escape in the
long-boat.

Return to
the shore.

presented! Before them extended an immeasurable plain, without a shrub, plant, or blade of grass; nothing that, even for a moment, could support human life. They fell to the ground, exclaiming, "'Tis enough!—here we must breathe our last!" From such utter despair even the horrors of African bondage appeared almost a deliverance. Towards evening a light was descried gleaming along the waste, indicating that they were in the neighbourhood of another band of marauders. Having waited till morning, they approached the camp, and prostrated themselves before the Arabs, who uttered a furious yell, and immediately engaged in a violent contest for the living booty thus unexpectedly presented to them. This dispute ended in their being divided among the barbarians, by whom they were hurried in different directions into the interior of the wilderness. The sufferings of Riley were so extreme as made him almost regret the life which he had saved, till he met Sidi Hamet, a respectable caravan-merchant, who, in bargaining for his person, showed much sympathy for his situation, and undertook to conduct him to Mogadore, provided he were made sure of a good ransom. The American soon had the satisfaction of seeing two blankets, a cotton robe, and a bundle of ostrich-feathers, paid as the price of his liberty. He prevailed on the Mussulman also to purchase his companions; after which they set out together to cross the Desert with their master and deliverer. They had a very painful journey to perform, riding with the utmost rapidity on the naked backs of camels, over hills of loose sand, while the air was filled with clouds of the same substance. Food and water being, moreover, very scanty, they were reduced almost to the condition of skeletons, and Riley declares that he did not ultimately weigh above ninety pounds. His mind also was oppressed with much anxiety, as Hamet, with all his humanity, gave notice from time to time, that should his expectations as to the ransom fail he would cut their throats. Having procured, therefore, a reed and some black liquid, the supercargo wrote a pathetic representa-

CHAP. X.

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Hopeless
condition.

They deliver
themselves
up to the
Arabs.

Sold to Sidi
Hamet.

Sufferings on
the journey.

CHAP. X.

Generosity of
the English
consul.

tion of his sufferings, addressed generally to the consuls, or to any Christians who might happen to be resident at Mogadore. After eight days of dreadful suspense, a letter arrived. His emotion was too great to allow him to read it: but one of his companions found it to be from Mr Willshire, the English consul, expressed in the most sympathizing terms, and with an assurance that the ransom would be provided. This promise was faithfully performed; and a hospitable reception at the consulate soon restored him to health and to his former dimensions.

Information
obtained.

The most interesting part of the intelligence, however, obtained on this occasion, was that communicated to Riley by Sidi Hamet concerning his own journeys and adventures. He had accompanied a caravan to Timbuctoo, and after much exertion and suffering had arrived at the banks of the Gozen Zaire, which running eastward through Soudan, falls into the Niger. He followed its current till he reached the capital just named, which, like Adams, he described as being entirely possessed and ruled by negroes; though a smaller town, separated by a strong wall, was assigned to the Moors, who were only allowed to enter the principal one by fifties at a time. He represents it as being upon the whole both larger and handsomer than it had appeared to his countryman. The shegar, or king, happened to send a caravan southward to the city of Wassanah, which Sidi Hamet resolved to accompany. A ride of two hours brought them to the banks of the Zolibib, the Joliba of Park, or our Niger. Its course for six days was nearly due east, when it turned to the south-east, and continued to flow in that direction during the remainder of their journey. At length, after travelling in all about sixty days, they arrived at Wassanah, which appeared in his eyes twice as large as Timbuctoo. The inhabitants were pagans, but honest, hospitable, and kind-hearted. Oleebo, the sovereign, lived in a lofty palace, had no fewer than 150 wives, 10,000 slaves, and a very large army. But the chief interest was excited by a report, received from the king's brother, of expeditions sent down the river, consisting

Dimensions
of Wassanah.

of numerous boats with large cargoes of slaves. They were described as sailing two months, first south and then west, till they came to the "great water," where they met pale people with large boats, and guns which made a noise like thunder. This relation was eagerly embraced, as favouring the supposition of the Niger being identical with the Congo or Zaire. Doubts were in several quarters raised as to its authenticity; yet the assigned course, first south-east, then south, and afterwards west, as well as the assertion that the river descended through a hilly country, where it formed several cataracts, and finally terminated in a sea frequented by Europeans, having been since found to be correct, though contrary to the ideas then prevalent in Europe, afford reasonable ground to believe that this journey was not altogether a romance.

CHAP. X.

Reported
course of the
Niger

Concurrence
with later
observation.

CHAPTER XI.

Government Expeditions.

Great Expedition planned under Tuckey and Peddie—Captain Tuckey reaches the Congo—Difficulties encountered—Great Sickness—Disastrous Issue—Major Peddie arrives at Kankundy—His Death—Captain Campbell advances into the Foulah Territory—Obliged to return—His Death—Gray—Laing—Ritchie and Lyon—Death of Ritchie.

CHAP. XI.

Causes of
Park's
failure.

THE fate of Park, notwithstanding the deep regret it excited in England and throughout Europe, presented nothing which could destroy the hope of future success; for the chief cause of failure could be easily traced to the precipitation into which he had been betrayed by a too ardent enthusiasm. Nor had any thing been discovered adverse to the hypothesis that identified the Niger with the Congo, which still retained a strong hold on the public mind. The views of government and of the nation on this subject were entirely in unison. It was therefore determined that an expedition on a large scale should be fitted out, divided into two portions, one to descend the Niger and the other to ascend the Congo; which two parties, it was fondly hoped, would effect a triumphant meeting in the middle of the great stream they were sent to explore. This resolution was loudly applauded; and never perhaps did an armament, expected to achieve the most splendid victories, excite deeper interest than the one now projected, which seemed destined to triumph over the darkness that had so long enveloped the vast interior of Africa.

Plan of a
great expedi-
tion.

The expedition to the Congo was intrusted to Captain

Tuckey, an officer of merit and varied services, who had published several works connected with geography and navigation. Besides a crew of about fifty, including marines and mechanics, he was accompanied by Mr Smith, an eminent botanist, who likewise possessed some knowledge of geology; Mr Cranch, a self-taught but able zoologist; Mr Tudor, a good comparative anatomist; Mr Lockhart, a gardener from Kew; and Mr Galwey, an intelligent person who volunteered to join the party. They sailed from Deptford on the 16th February 1816, and reached Malemba on the 30th June, where they met with a cordial reception from the *mafook*, or king's merchant, in the belief that they were come to make up a cargo of slaves. The chiefs, on being reluctantly convinced of the contrary, burst into the most furious invectives against the crowned heads of Europe, particularly our own most gracious sovereign, whom they denominated "the Devil," imputing chiefly to him the stop put to this odious but lucrative traffic. A few days brought the English into the channel of the Congo; which, to their great disappointment, instead of exhibiting the immense size they had been taught to expect, scarcely appeared a river of the second class. The stream, it is true, was then at the lowest, but the depth being still more than 150 fathoms, it was impossible to estimate the mass of water which it might convey to the ocean. The banks were swampy, overgrown with mangrove-trees; and the profound silence and repose of these extensive forests made a solemn impression upon the mind. At Embomma, the emporium of this district, much interest was excited by the discovery that a negro officiating as cook's mate was a prince of the blood. He was welcomed with rapture by his father, and with a general rejoicing by the whole village. The young savage was soon arrayed in full African pomp, having on an embroidered coat very much tarnished, a silk sash, and a black glazed hat surmounted by an enormous feather. Captain Tuckey was introduced to the *chenoo*, or hereditary chief, who, with his huge gilt buttons,

CHAP. XI.

Qualifica-
tions of Cap-
tain Tuckey.Departure of
the expe-
dition.Disappoint-
ment.Negro of
royal blood.

CHAP. XI.

Suspicious of
the native
prince.

stockings of pink sarcenet, red half-boots, and high-crowned embroidered hat, reminded him of punch in a puppet-show. All attempts to convey to this sage prince any idea of the objects of the expedition proved vain. The terms which express science and an enlightened curiosity did not excite in his mind a single idea, and he rang continual changes on the questions, "Are you come to trade?" and, "Are you come to make war?"—unable to conjecture any other motive. At length, having received a solemn declaration that there was no intention to wage hostilities, he sealed peace by the acceptance of a large present of brandy.

The Yellala
or Great
Cataract.

After sailing between ridges of high rocky hills, the expedition came to the Yellala, or Great Cataract; and here they met with a second disappointment. Instead of another Niagara, which general report had led them to expect, they saw only "a comparative brook bubbling over its stony bed." The cascade appears to be occasioned merely by masses of granite, fragments of which have fallen down and blocked up the stream. Yet this obstruction rendered it quite impossible for the boats to pass; nor could they be carried across the precipices and deep ravines by which the country was intersected. The discoverers were therefore obliged to proceed by land through this difficult region, which, without a guide on whom they could rely, was attended with overwhelming toil. Cooloo, Inga, and Mavoonda, the principal villages, were separated by wide intervals, which often placed the travellers under the necessity of sleeping in the open air. At length the country improved and became more level, the river widened, and the obstacles to its navigation gradually disappeared; but just as the enterprise began to assume a prosperous aspect, indications of its fatal termination were already perceptible. The health of the party was rapidly giving way under the effects of fatigue, as well as the malignant influence of an atmosphere at once moist and burning. Tudor, Cranch, and Galwey, were successively obliged to return to the ship; and Captain Tuckey, after struggling some time against

Improved
appearance
of the
country.

the increasing pressure of disease and exhaustion, as well as the accumulating difficulties of the expedition, saw the necessity of putting a stop to its farther progress. Mr Smith at first expressed deep disappointment at this resolution, but soon became so ill that he could scarcely be conveyed to the vessel. On reaching it, a sad scene awaited the survivors: Cranch, Tudor, and Galwey were no more; they had sunk, one after another, under the weight of disease. Mr Smith soon shared their fate; and Tuckey himself, on the 4th October, added one more to the number of deaths, without having suffered the usual attack of fever. He had been exhausted by constant depression and mental anxiety.

From this unhappy expedition, however, some information was obtained respecting a part of Africa not visited for several centuries. No trace indeed was seen of the great kingdoms, or of the cities and armies described by the Portuguese missionaries; so that, though the interior may not improbably be more populous than the banks of the river, there must, in these pious narratives, have been much exaggeration. The largest towns, or rather villages, did not contain above 100 houses, with 500 or 600 inhabitants. They were governed by chenoos, with a power nearly absolute, and having mafooks under them, who were chiefly employed in the collection of revenue. The people were merry, idle, good-humoured, hospitable, and liberal, with rather an innocent and agreeable expression of countenance. The greatest blemish in their character appeared in the treatment of the female sex, on whom they devolved all the laborious duties of life, even more exclusively than is usual among negro tribes; holding their virtue also in such slender esteem, that the greatest chiefs made it an object of traffic. Upon this head, however, they have evidently learned much evil from their intercourse with Europeans; a remark applicable not only to the shores of Africa, but also to the more interesting settlements in the South Sea.

Meantime the other section of the expedition under Major Peddie, whose instructions led him to descend the

CHAP. XI.

Fatal close
of the expe-
dition

Information
obtained by
this expe-
dition.

Character of
the people.

CHAP. XI. Niger, arrived at the mouth of the Senegal. Instead of the beaten track along the banks of that river, or of the Gambia, he preferred the route through the country of the Foulahs, which, though nearer, was more difficult and less explored. On the 17th November 1816, he sailed from the Senegal, and on 14th December, the party, consisting of 100 men and 200 animals, landed at Kakundy, on the Rio Nunez ; but, before they could begin their march, the major was attacked with fever and died. Captain Campbell, on whom the command now devolved, proceeded in the line proposed till he arrived at a small river called the Panietta, on the frontier of the Foulah territory. By this time many of the beasts of burden had perished, and great difficulty was found in obtaining a sufficient quantity of provisions. The King of the Foulahs, on being asked for permission to pass through his territories, seemed alarmed at hearing of so large a body of foreigners about to enter his country. He contrived, under various pretexts, to detain them on the frontier four months, during which their stock of food and clothing gradually diminished, while they were suffering all the evils that arise from a sickly climate and a scanty supply of necessaries. At length their situation became such as to place them under the absolute necessity of returning ; and all their animals being dead it was necessary to hire the natives to carry their baggage,—an expedient which gave occasion to frequent pillage. They reached Kakundy with the loss only of Mr Kummer the naturalist ; but Captain Campbell, overcome by sickness and exertion, died two days after, on the 13th of June 1817. The superintendence was then transferred to Lieutenant Stokoe, a spirited young naval officer, who had joined the expedition as a volunteer. He formed a new scheme for proceeding into the interior ; but unhappily he also sunk under the effects of the climate and the fatigues of the journey.

A sentence of death now seemed pronounced against all who should attempt to penetrate the African continent ; and yet there were still daring spirits who did not shrink

Expedition
and death of
Major
Peddie.

Captain
Campbell.

Detention
and return.

Successive
deaths of the
leaders.

from the undertaking. Captain Gray of the Royal African Corps, who had accompanied the expedition, the fate of which has just been narrated, undertook, in the year 1818, to perform a journey along the more frequented banks of the Gambia. He arrived without any obstacle at Boolibani, the capital of Bondou, where he remained from the 20th June 1818, to the 22d May 1819; but owing to the jealousy of the monarch he was permitted to proceed no farther. With some difficulty he reached Gallam, where he met Staff-surgeon Dockard, who had gone forward to Sego to ask permission to proceed through Bambarra,—a request which had also been evaded. The whole party then returned to Senegal.

In 1821, Major Laing was sent on a mission from Sierra Leone, through the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima countries, with the view of forming some commercial arrangements. On this journey he found reason to believe that the source of the Niger lay much farther to the south than Park had supposed. At Falaba he was assured that it might have been reached in three days, had not the Kissi nation, in whose territory it was situated, been at war with the Soolimanas, with whom the major then resided. He was inclined to fix the source of this great river a very little above the ninth degree of latitude.

The British government were, meantime, indefatigable in their endeavours to find out other channels for exploring the interior of Africa. The Bashaw of Tripoli, though he had usurped the throne by violent means, showed a disposition to improve his country by admitting the arts and learning of Europe; while the judicious conduct of Mr Warrington, our consul, inclined him to cultivate the friendship of Britain. As, through his tributary kingdom of Fezzan he held a constant communication with Bornou and the other principal states of Central Africa, he readily undertook to promote the views of any English expedition which might be sent in that direction. Such an opportunity was not to be lost. The usual means were supplied by the ministry, and the ordinary inducements held forth by the Association. Mr Ritchie, a young man of

CHAP. XI.

Journey
undertaken
by Captain
Gray

Journey of
Major Laing.

Persevering
zeal of the
British
government.

CHAP. XI.

Ritchie and
Lyon's expe-
dition.

Base charac-
ter of the
Sultan of
Tripoli.

Death of
Ritchie.

scientific acquirements and zeal for discovery, undertook the direction of this adventure ; and he was accompanied by Lieutenant Lyon, who, as a naval officer, was expected to be useful in navigating the Niger when the party should reach that river. These gentlemen were perfectly well received at Tripoli, and set out, on the 22d March 1819, for Fezzan with Mukni, the sultan, who gave them the most solemn assurances of protection. This chief, however, was a ruffian, who had made his way to power by the massacre of the late sovereign and his brother, and who supported his interest at Tripoli by annual slave-hunts, which he extended over the whole Desert to the frontier of Soudan. By such means he brought annually to that town 4000 or 5000 of those unhappy victims, a large proportion of whom were bestowed in presents to his liege lord. Under a guardianship so inauspicious the travellers could hardly expect that support of which they soon stood very much in need. Mourzouk was found extremely unhealthy, being intensely hot, and surrounded by pools of stagnant water, which rendered even the natives liable to fever and ague. The members of the expedition soon felt its effects, Lieutenant Lyon being seized with dysentery, and Mr Ritchie with bilious fever, under which they languished during the whole summer. The treacherous Mukni not only withheld all aid, but studiously prevented others from giving them assistance. At length the chief of the mission, overwhelmed by disease and anxiety, died on the 20th November 1819 ; after which Mr Lyon found himself without the means of penetrating farther than to the southern frontier of Fezzan. He obtained a good deal of information respecting the remoter countries, which, however, has been rendered less important by the fuller and more recent intelligence received through Denham and Clapperton. He passes a very unfavourable judgment upon the territory of Fezzan, which he considers nearly as barren as any part of the surrounding desert. The cultivation is confined to a few gardens, into which water is raised by immense labour from wells of considerable depth.

CHAPTER XII.

Denham and Clapperton.

Arrangements with the Court of Tripoli—The Travellers arrive there—Journey to Mourzouk—Difficulties—Agreement with Boo Khalloom—Departure—The Desert—Tibboos and Tuaricks—Arrival at the Lake Tchad—The Yeou—Kouka—Visit to the Sheik—The Sultan—Description of Bornou—Denham's Excursion to Mandara—Great Range of Mountains—Disastrous Expedition—War against the Mungas—Excursion to Loggun—Expedition against the La Salas—Biddoomahs—Clapperton's Journey into Houssa—Appearance of that Country—Kano—Sackatoo—Sultan Bello—Return of the Travellers.

NOTHING could shake the determination of the British government to obtain, by some means or other, a competent degree of information respecting the unknown countries of Africa. The great favour enjoyed at the court of Tripoli was still regarded as an advantageous circumstance; and it was chiefly due, as already observed, to the prudence and ability of Mr Warrington, without whose advice scarcely any thing of importance was transacted. The bashaw was therefore disposed to renew his protection to whatsoever mission Britain might send. Nor could the support of any sovereign have been more efficient; for the influence of this petty prince and the terror of his name are almost unbounded in the greatest kingdoms of Central Africa. One weapon, the gun, in the hands of his troops, gives him all this superiority; for the remoter nations, from the Nile to the Atlantic, scarcely know any other arms besides the spear, the bow,

CHAP. XII.

—
Fresh arrangements
with the
court at
Tripoli.

CHAP. XII.

Important
influence of
firearms.

and the javelin. A musket among those tribes is an object of almost supernatural dread ; individuals have been seen kneeling down before it, speaking to it in whispers, and addressing to it earnest supplications. With troops thus armed, the ruler of Tripoli is esteemed along the northern border the most potent monarch on earth ; and it is a matter of surprise among the natives that he has not ere now compelled all Europe to embrace the Mohammedan faith. He could therefore assure the English that, for any but physical obstacles, they might travel as safely from Tripoli to Bornou, as from Edinburgh to London.

Denham,
Clapperton,
and Oudney.

Under the confidence inspired by these circumstances, government prepared another expedition, and without difficulty procured a fresh band of adventurers, who undertook to brave all its perils. Major Denham, Lieutenant Clapperton of the navy, and Dr Oudney, a surgeon in the same service, and possessing a considerable knowledge of natural history, were regularly appointed. Without delay they proceeded to Tripoli, where they arrived on the 18th November 1821. They were immediately introduced to the bashaw, whom they found sitting cross-legged on a carpet, attended by armed negroes. After treating them to sherbet and coffee, he invited them to a hawking-party, where he appeared mounted on a milk-white Arabian steed superbly caparisoned, having a saddle of crimson-velvet richly studded with gold nails, and with embroidered trappings. He was preceded by six *chaoushes*, or officers, in white silk robes ; while two favourite negro slaves, in glittering vest, light burnouse, and white turban, supported him on each side. The hunt began on the borders of the Desert, where parties of six or eight Arabs dashed forward quick as lightning, fired suddenly, and rushed back with loud cries. The skill with which they manœuvred their steeds, whirling the long musket over their heads as they rode at full gallop, appeared quite surprising.

Reception by
the Sultan.

Although the visitors were personally well treated at Tripoli, they could not shut their eyes to the barbarism

every where prevailing. The Sheik, Belgassum Khalifa, a fine old Arab, understood to be high in the favour of the bashaw, had been one evening at an elegant entertainment in the palace, when on reaching his own door a pistol-shot wounded him in the arm, and on his entering the passage, a second penetrated his body. He staggered into the house, denouncing his own nephew as the author of the assassination. The murderers rushing in, completed their crime by stabbing him seven times with their daggers, and his wife received two wounds while endeavouring to save him. The three actors in this tragedy instantly fled for security to the British consul; but Mr Warrington sent immediate notice to the bashaw, "that the murderers of Khalifa would find no protection under the flag of England." That potentate, however, either privy to the crime or disposed to wink at its commission, expressed his regret that the guilty persons had found shelter in the consulate; a sanctuary, he added, that he could not think of violating. Repeated assurance was given that he might employ any force, or use any means, to drag them from beneath a banner that never was disgraced by affording protection to assassins. The bashaw at length, ashamed of his apathy, sent sixteen stout fellows, by whom the ruffians were seized; and in less than an hour they were seen hanging from the castle-walls.

The mission, fortified with recommendations to the Sultan of Fezzan, now entered upon their long and dreary pilgrimage to Mourzouk, where they arrived on the 8th April 1822. This prince received them with affability, but gave himself very little trouble in making provision for the prosecution of their journey. He even intimated his intention of visiting Tripoli, and the necessity of their remaining till his return. This arrangement was most disheartening; nor did they know what reliance to place in the sincerity of Boo Khalloom, a great merchant, who invited them to accompany an expedition which he was preparing for Soudan. The sultan and he soon afterwards departed, each with large presents for the

CHAP. XII.

Assassination of a sheik.

Refuge sought with the British consul.

Pilgrimage to Mourzouk.

CHAP. XII.

Unsuccessful
negotiations.

bashaw, to intrigue against one another at the court of Tripoli ; and now there was scarcely a camel left in Fezzan, or any other means of travelling. Major Denham therefore saw no alternative but that he himself should hasten back to that city, and remonstrate with his highness on this apparent violation of his promise. After a tedious journey of twenty days, with only three attendants, he arrived, and waited on the barbarian, who received him with his usual courtesy ; but, not giving that full satisfaction which was expected, the major lost no time in setting sail for England, to lodge a complaint with his own court. This step was painfully felt by the other, who sent vessel after vessel, one of which at last overtook the traveller, while performing quarantine at Marseilles, and announced that arrangements were actually made with Boo Khalloom for escorting him to the capital of Bornou. Accordingly, on his return to Tripoli, he found the Arab chief already on the borders of the Desert.

Character of
Boo Khal-
loom.

This trader, who was now to be a guide to the English into the immense regions of the south, was a personage of a very different character from what we in this country can form any idea of. The African caravan-merchant has nothing in common with that respectable class of men who, seated in counting-houses at London or Amsterdam, direct the movement of their ships over the ocean, and count the silent accumulation of their profits. He, on the contrary, must accompany his merchandise from one extremity to the other of a great continent, and across its immense deserts, the scene of much suffering, and frequently of death itself. Nor is it from a parched wilderness and a burning climate that he has most to apprehend : His path is every where beset by bands, whose trade is plunder, and who find amusement in assassination. He must therefore have his property guarded by an armed band, ready to defend with their blood what his money has purchased. These followers, being in continual service, and exposed to frequent fighting, become practised soldiers, and are more than a match

Dangers of
the trader.

for the roving barbarians who infest the Sahara. Even the greatest princes view these merchant-chiefs with fear and jealousy ; and, though they contrive to draw considerable advantage from their trade, scarcely reckon the kingdom their own while these troops are within its boundaries. The merchants unhappily do not confine themselves to self-defence ; but, seeing robbery practised on every side against themselves, begin to retaliate, and soon find it cheaper, and, according to African ideas, not less honourable, to replenish their stores by plunder than by purchase. Slaves, the staple of their trade, are generally obtained by the most atrocious violence, in expeditions called *ghrazzies* or *felateas*, undertaken solely for that nefarious purpose. Provided they can escape the dangers and casualties to which they are exposed, their profits are immense, the value of merchandise being somewhat more than tripled by its conveyance across the Desert. Thus a few successful journeys enable a man to acquire a fortune almost princely, and a high degree of influence in the Barbary States. In short, the merchant, the warrior, the prince, the robber, are united in this extraordinary character ; and he is prepared, according to circumstances, to act in one or in all of these capacities. Yet Boo Khalloom might be reckoned a good specimen of this evil race : He possessed an enlarged and liberal mind, and was honourable, and even humane, so far as a slave-merchant could retain these qualities ; he was dragged, too, with reluctance into the most odious parts of his vocation,—while at home his generosity was such as to make him almost idolized.

Under the guidance of this remarkable personage Major Denham set forth, with almost the full assurance of reaching those depths of Africa from which no European had ever yet returned. Little occurred to diversify the usual monotony of a desert-route, till they arrived at Sockna, where Boo Khalloom, who was fond of display, determined to make his entrance with suitable pomp. He rode a white Tunisian horse, with gilded saddle, and trappings of scarlet cloth bordered with gold ;

CHAP. XII

—
Fear of the
merchant-
chiefs.

Violent
modes of
obtaining
slaves.

Expectations
of Major
Denham.

CHAP. XII.
Dress of Boo
Khalloom.

his dress consisted of various caftans and robes of the richest silks adorned with gold buttons, lace, and embroidery: the burnouse, a present from the bashaw, had cost 400 dollars. The citizens meeting the party with shouts and guns, and the females with singing and dancing, formed a species of triumphal procession. Several days were spent at Sockna, Khalloom being ill, and wishing to try the effect of various charms and superstitious remedies. The English, meantime, witnessed a great marriage-ceremony, the chief pomp of which consisted in placing the bride in a basket on the back of a camel and leading her round the town, while numerous horsemen galloped up and discharged their muskets quite close to her head; the honour of which compliment was understood to compensate for the fear which it could not fail to occasion.

Crossing the
Gebel
Assoud.

In journeying onwards to Mourzouk the travellers passed along the naked sides of the Gebel Assoud, which the major crossed now for the third time; but no familiarity could relieve the sense of dreariness and misery which its aspect occasioned. A rainy day came as a blessing to the whole party,—especially to the poor slaves, on whom Boo Khalloom had, in special kindness, bestowed one draught of water in the day to cool their burning thirst. On the 30th October, the caravan made its entry into Mourzouk, with similar pomp as into Sockna, amid the shouts of the inhabitants, whom the chief, by his liberality, had inspired with the warmest attachment. The major, however, was much disheartened by not seeing any of his countrymen amid the joyous crowd; and his fears were confirmed by finding Dr Oudney just recovering from a severe attack in the chest, and Lieutenant Clapperton in bed the fifteenth day with ague,—facts which, combined with the unfortunate result of the last expedition, and the sickly look of the natives themselves, indicated some peculiarly baneful influence, without any visible cause, in the climate of that district.

Invalids so severely afflicted were not very fit to begin

Illness of
Oudney and
Clapperton.

a long and laborious journey ; but their ardour was extreme ; and, imagining that a change of air would be beneficial, they contrived, even before Boo Khalloom was ready to set out, to move forward to Gatrone, leaving Major Denham behind at Mourzouk. On the 29th November, the whole caravan breaking up from that city, began their journey through the Desert, and were escorted by nearly every inhabitant who could hire or borrow a horse. The expedition, besides the English, comprised 210 Arabs, ranged in tens and twenties, under different chiefs. The most numerous were the M'Garha, who, to the amount of seventy, came from the steril shore of the Syrtes. These barbarians enlivened the route by their traditionary tales, their songs, their extemporaneous poems, in which all the incidents of the journey were narrated ; in short, by an inexhaustible fund of wit and vivacity. Their pride, their revenge, their robberies, did not come into view in their intercourse with our countrymen, who, being received into their camp, having eaten of their bread and salt, and being bound in the cord of friendship, were entitled to all the rights of hospitality, and would have been protected even at the hazard of life.

The caravan arrived in due time at Traghan, a small town containing a fine carpet-manufactory, and ruled by a marabout, who used the sanctity of his character to maintain order and promote the prosperity of the place. Passing that station they were soon in the heart of the Desert, where they spent whole days without seeing a living thing, even a bird or an insect, that did not belong to their own company. After painful marches under the direct action of the solar rays, they were delighted by the silence and beauty of the night. The moon and stars shone with peculiar brilliancy ; cool breezes succeeded to the burning heat of the day ; and, on removing a few inches of the loose hot soil, a soft and refreshing bed was obtained. Even the ripple of the blowing sand sounded like a gentle and murmuring stream. Every noise was rendered doubly impressive by the deep stillness, as well as by an echo from the surface of the surrounding waste.

CHAP. XII.

—
Their ardour
and perse-
verance.

Arab guard

Arrival at
Traghan.

CHAP. XII.

Tibboos and
Tuaricks.

Characteris-
tics of the
African
tribes.

Manners of
the Tuaricks.

In this track the travellers had on the one side the Tibboos, on the other the Tuaricks, two native tribes, probably of great antiquity, and having no alliance with the Arab race, now so widely spread over the continent. The Tibboos were on the left hand; and it was through their villages that the caravan passed. These people live partly on the milk of their camels, which pick up a scanty subsistence on the few verdant spots that rise amid the Desert, partly by carrying on a small trade between Mourzouk and Bornou, in which they are so busily employed that many do not spend at home more than four months in the year. They are black, though without the negro features; the men ugly, but the young females possessed of some beauty, not wholly obscured by the embellishments of coral stuck in the nose, and of oil streaming over the face. They are, besides, a gay, good-humoured, thoughtless race, with all the African passion for the song and the dance; which last they practise gracefully, and with movements somewhat similar to the Grecian. This cheerfulness appears wonderful, considering the dreadful calamity with which they are daily threatened. Once a-year, or oftener, an inroad is made by their fierce neighbours the Tuaricks, who spare neither age nor sex, sweeping away all that come within their reach. The cowardly Tibboos dare not even attempt resistance; they can only mount to the top of certain steep rocks, with flat summits and perpendicular sides, near one of which every village is built, carrying up with them every thing that can be removed; and this rude defence avails against still ruder assailants. The Tuaricks, again, were observed by Clapperton and Oudney in a journey to the westward from Mourzouk, and were found in their private character to be frank, honest, and hospitable. The females are neither immured nor oppressed, as is usual among the Mohammedan tribes, but meet with notice and respect; indeed the domestic habits of this nation much resemble those of Europeans. They are a wandering race of shepherds and robbers, holding in contempt all who live



Tuarick on his Camel, with Male and Female Tibboo.

in houses and cultivate the ground ; yet they are perhaps the only native Africans who have letters and an alphabet, which they inscribe, not on books and parchments indeed, but on the dark rocks that chequer the surface of their territory ; and, in places where they have long resided, every stone is seen covered with their writings. The accompanying plate represents a Tuarick on his camel, with a male and female Tibboo standing beside him.

Use of letter
and books.

Bilma, the capital of the Tibboos, was found a mean town with walls of earth, but surrounded by numerous lakes containing the purest salt, the most valuable of all articles for the commerce of Soudan. The inhabitants, however, though deeply mortified, dare not prevent their powerful neighbours from lading their caravans with it, and underselling them in all the markets. About a mile beyond the town was a fine spring, spreading around, and forming a little circle of the richest verdure ; and this was

Bilma, the
Tibboos
capital.

CHAP. XII.

Entry on the
desert.

the last appearance of vegetable life the travellers were to see in a march of thirteen days. In these wilds, the constant drift causes hills to rise or disappear in a night ; and as all traces of a road are soon obliterated, the eye is guided only by certain rocks which are seen at intervals amid the waste. Sometimes the sand is formed into hills with very steep sides, from twenty to sixty feet high. Down these the camels are made to slide ; and can only be kept steady by the driver hanging with all his weight on the tail, otherwise they would tumble forward, and throw the load over their heads. " Tremendously dreary are these marches ; as far as the eye can reach, billows of sand bound the prospect." In a high wind volumes of this substance darkened the air, through which it was sometimes impossible to pass.

Reappear-
ance of vege-
tation.

After a fortnight spent in the Desert, the expedition saw symptoms of a return to the region of life. Scattered spots of thin herbage appeared ; little valleys watered by springs were filled with the shrub called *suag*, on which grew delicate berries ; small herds of gazelles fed in these retreats ; even the droves of hyenas indicated the revival of animal nature. As they advanced, the dales became more gay and verdant ; and the creeping vines of the colocynth in full bloom, with the red flowers of the *kossom*, converted many of these spots into a little Arcadia. The freshness of the air, with the melody of the birds among the creeping plants whose flowers diffused an aromatic odour, formed a delightful contrast to the desolate region just passed. Here again were found Tibboos of the Gunda tribe, a more alert and active people than the former ; the men uglier, the girls handsomer and more delicately formed. This sept have about 5000 camels, on whose milk alone they support themselves during half the year ; the little crop of *gussub* and millet being too precious for their horses, they are fed on milk, either sweet or sour, which keeps them at all times in the highest health and condition. The chief, Mina Tahr, or the Black Bird, was presented by Boo Khalloom with a coarse scarlet burnouse and a

abboos of
the Gunda
tribe.

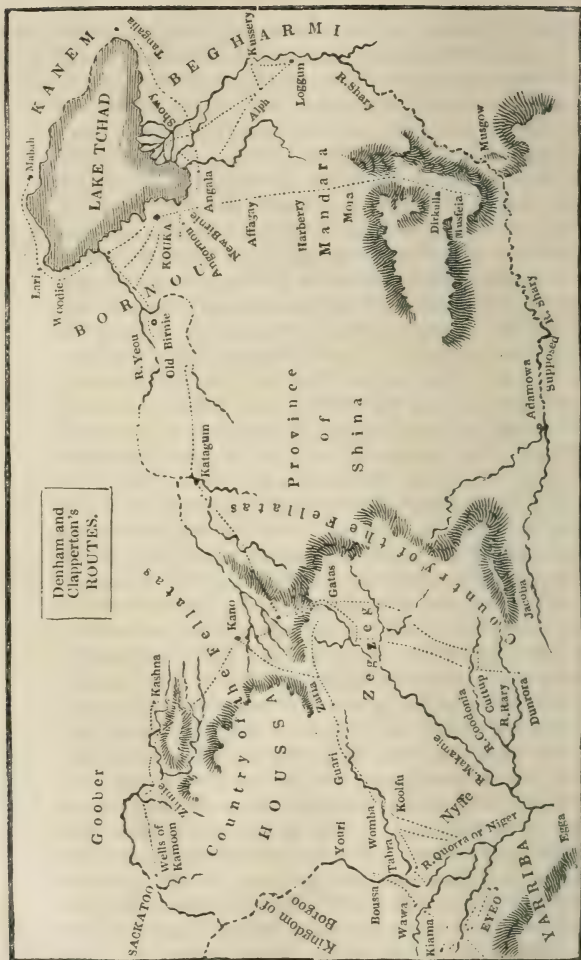
tawdry silk caftan : these paltry dresses, being the finest that had ever invested the person of this chieftain, threw him into ecstasies of delight, which he continued for hours to testify by joyful shouts and high leaps into the air. Major Denham's watch singularly delighted him ; but solely, as soon appeared, from the pleasure of seeing his own person in the bright metallic case ; so that a very small mirror was deemed still more precious.

In this approach to the territory of Soudan our travellers began to witness the exercise of mutual plunder between their mercantile escort and the natives. Every animal which straggled from the main body was instantly carried off ; even a dog had been eaten up, and only the bones left. A herald, handsomely equipped, who had been sent forward to the Sultan of Bornou, was found stripped, and tied naked to a tree. On the other hand, no sooner did the caravan come in view of any village than the inhabitants were descried on the plain beyond in full flight with all their effects. The Arabs pursued in indignation only, as they pretended, at not being allowed to purchase what they wanted ; but the conduct of the poor natives was evidently the result of long experience ; and Major Denham saw executed on one party the most rapid process of depredation he ever witnessed. In a few seconds the camels were eased of their loads, and the poor women and girls deprived of all their clothes. Boo Khalloom, on this and other occasions, interposed, and insisted on restitution ; but whether he would have done so without the urgent remonstrances of the English appears doubtful.

The expedition, now advancing rapidly, entered Kanem, the most northern province of Bornou, and soon arrived at Lari, a town of 2000 inhabitants, composed of clusters of rush-huts, conical at top, and looking like well-thatched corn-stacks. This place formed a remarkable stage in their progress ; for, from the rising ground in front of it was seen the boundless expanse of the great interior sea of Africa, the Lake Tchad, " glowing with the golden rays of the sun." Major Denham, who saw here the key to his grand scheme of discovery, hastened

CHAP. XII.

Presents to
the chiefMutual
plunder.Speedy de-
predation.Entering the
northern
province of
Bornou.



to the shores of this mighty water. These were darkened with the varied and beautiful plumage of ducks, geese, pelicans, and cranes four or five feet in height, immense spoonbills of snowy whiteness, yellow-legged plovers, with numerous unknown waterfowl, sporting around and quietly feeding at half pistol-shot. The major felt reluctant to invade the profound tranquillity of these feathered tribes, and betray the confidence with which they received him; but at length, overcoming his scruples, he took up his gun, and soon filled a large basket. It was evident, that remarkable changes in the bed of the Tchad had recently taken place; for, though this was not the rainy season, long stalks of gussub were growing amid the waters on ground formerly dry.

The caravan now marched along the shores of the lake, and arrived in two days at Woodie, a large town, the first which was found thoroughly negro. The inhabitants lived in sluggish plenty on the produce of a fertile country, without any attempt to enjoy either elegancies or luxuries. It was resolved that the company should pause here, till a messenger could be sent forward to obtain for them an invitation, or permission, to present themselves before the Sheik of Bornou; the political state of whose country was at this time somewhat singular. Twenty years before, it had been overrun and completely conquered with dreadful devastation by the Fellatas, a western people, to whose empire it seemed to be finally annexed. There still remained, however, a patriotic spirit in the people which spurned a foreign yoke. The present sheik, a native of Kanem, of humble birth but of superior talents and energy, rallied round him a band of bold spearmen, and, animating them by a pretended vision of the prophet, hoisted the green flag, and attacked the invaders. His success was such, that in ten months the enemy were entirely driven out of Bornou, which they had never since re-entered, though desultory hostilities were still carried on. This fortunate leader, idolized by his army, was now the real master of the country; yet the reverence of the nation for their ancient line of

CHAP. XII.

—
Appearance
of the Lake
Tchad.

Arrival at
Woodie.

Political
state of the
country.

CHAP. XII.

Reverence
for heredi-
tary royalty.

Invitation
from the
sheik of
Bornou.

Uncertain
reports.

African
military
display.

kings was too deep to allow the legitimate heir to be wholly superseded. This last was drawn forth from obscurity, received the title of sultan, and was established in empty pomp at the city of Birnie; while the successful soldier, under an humbler name, retained in his own hands all the real power.

After five days an invitation arrived from the sheik to visit him at Kouka, for which city the travellers immediately departed. In their way they passed the Yeou, the first river which had crossed their path in this long journey, exciting considerable interest from being at first supposed to be the Niger flowing from Timbuctoo. The stream, which was fifty yards broad, proceeded with some rapidity eastward into the Tchad; and in the wet season its breadth became twice as great. On the bank, for the convenience of passengers, lay two large canoes, rudely constructed of planks fastened by cords, and having the opening stuffed with straw. The men and goods were ferried over on these rafts, while the horses and camels, having their heads fastened to them, swam across.

In approaching Kouka, Major Denham was exposed to considerable uncertainty, in consequence of the contradictory reports respecting the array and aspect of this great central court of Africa. Some told him that the sheik was surrounded by a mere handful of half-armed, half-naked negroes, fit only for plunder, while, according to others, he was at the head of a numerous cavalry, highly equipped, and well disciplined. The major pressed eagerly on before the main body, and, emerging from the forest, had his curiosity gratified by seeing several thousand horse drawn up in line, and extending on each side as far as the eye could reach. He now awaited the coming up of the Arabs; at sight of whom the Bornou troops, who had previously stood immovable, raised a mighty shout, which was followed by a sound, equally loud, of rude martial music. Then, forming detached parties, they galloped up full speed to the strangers, never pausing till they almost touched the horses' heads,



when they suddenly wheeled round and returned, exclaiming, "Blessing! blessing! sons of your country! sons of your country!" They had soon completely surrounded the party, and wedged them in so close, waving their spears over their heads, that it was impossible to move. Boo Khalloom had nearly lost all patience at this vehement and incommodious welcome; but at length Barca Gana, the commander-in-chief, made his appearance, restored order, and caused a passage to be opened, by which the caravan, though somewhat slowly, made its way to the city.

After their arrival at Kouka, symptoms of jealousy appeared, and only twelve of the principal persons, the English included, were allowed to enter. They were led through a wide street, lined with spearmen, to the door of the sheik's residence; and here the principal courtiers came out in succession, saluting the party with loud cries of "Barca! Barca!" Still no one invited them to go in, upon which the wrath of Boo Khalloom, who held himself scarcely inferior to their chief, was kindled, and he declared that, unless immediately admitted, he would return to his tent. An officer merely waved his hand as a signal for patience; and at last Barca Gana appeared, and invited the Arab leader to enter unattended. A full half-hour had elapsed when the gates were again opened, and the four Europeans called. They found, on the present as well as on other occasions, the etiquette of this barbarian court extremely rigid, and enforced in the roughest and most unceremonious manner. They were allowed to walk only one by one, and when thought to be going too fast the guards grasped them by the leg so abruptly that they could scarcely avoid falling flat forward; and when it was time to stop, instead of their being told so, spears were crossed before them, and the palm of the hand applied to their breast. At the close of all this ceremony, they saw the sheik quietly seated on a carpet, plainly dressed, in a small dark room, ornamented solely with guns and pistols, which he had received in presents from crowned heads, and esteemed the

CHAP. XII.

Singular
mode of
welcome.

Jealousy at
Kouka.

Rigid
etiquette
of the court.

CHAP. XII.

Age and
appearance
of the sheik.

most rare and precious of decorations. He appeared about forty or forty-five years of age, and his countenance was pleasing and expressive. He inquired their object in visiting Bornou ; when, being informed that they had come merely to see the country, and to give an account of its appearance, produce, and people, he engaged to forward their views, and even to gratify their wishes to the utmost of his power. Such motives, however, afterwards proved entirely incomprehensible to his illiterate mind.

Presents
delivered.

Major Denham next day waited again on the sheik and delivered his presents. A double-barrelled gun and two pistols, with powder-flask and shot-cases, were examined by the chief with the most minute attention ; the other gifts, consisting of fine cloths, spices, and porcelain, were no sooner produced than the slaves carried them off. The African was particularly gratified on being told that the King of England had heard of him, and said, turning to his captains, " This must be in consequence of our having defeated the Begharmis ;" upon which Bagah Furby, a grim old soldier, who had made a figure in that war, came forward and asked, " Did he ever hear of me ?" The polite major scrupled not to answer, " Certainly ;" when the whole party instantly called out, " Oh ! the King of England must be a great man."

Interest
excited by a
musical box.

Denham, while residing at Kouka, had frequent opportunities of visiting the sheik ; and one day he received a message to come instantly and exhibit a musical box that played a variety of tunes, and which the other understood to be in his possession. This great warrior, who had never before shown any interest except about grave concerns, was quite enchanted on hearing its performance, and raised shouts of delight and astonishment. He examined minutely the different parts of the mechanism, declaring he would willingly give a thousand dollars in exchange for it. The major, unable to misunderstand so broad a hint, presented the box to his highness. The display of sky-rockets also caused the

utmost amazement and joy, and was even employed to strike the enemies of the sheik with superstitious awe. Finding that our traveller could speak Arabic, and give much information not otherwise attainable, that chief became fond of his conversation, and invited him to pay frequent visits.

CHAP. XII.

Favour
shown to
Major
Denham.

It remained that Major Denham should be presented to the sultan in his royal residence at Birnie, where all the state and pomp of the kingdom, though with none of its real power, were concentrated. On the 2d March the English accompanied Boo Khalloom to that city, and, on their arrival, the following morning was fixed for the interview. Fashion, even in the most refined European courts, does not always follow the absolute guidance of reason or taste, and her magic power is often displayed in converting deformities into beauties; but there is certainly no court of which the taste is so absurd, grotesque, or monstrous, as that to which our countrymen were now introduced. An enormous protruding belly and a huge misshapen head are the two features, without which it is vain to aspire to the rank of a courtier or fine gentleman. This form, valued probably as a type of abundance and luxury, is esteemed so essential, that, where Nature has not bestowed and the most excessive feeding and cramming cannot supply it, wadding is employed, and a false belly produced which, in riding, appears to hang over the pommel of the saddle. Turbans also are wrapped round the head, in fold after fold, till it appears swelled on one side to the most unnatural dimensions, and only one-half of the face remains visible. The factitious bulk of the lords of Bornou is still farther augmented by drawing round them, even in this burning climate, ten or twelve successive robes of cotton or silk, while the whole is covered over with numberless charms enclosed in green leather cases. Yet under all these encumbrances they do sometimes mount and take the field; though the idea of such unwieldy figures being of any avail in the day of battle appeared altogether ridiculous,—and it proved accordingly, that, on such high occa-

Proceeding
to Birnie.

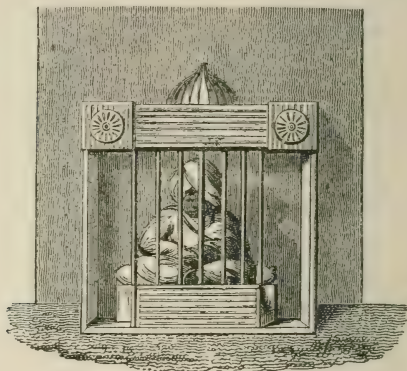
Ideas of
courtly
beauty.

Unwieldy
figures of the
lords of
Bornou.

CHAP. XII. sions, they merely exhibited themselves as ornaments, without even making a show of encountering the enemy.

Appearance
of the sultan.

With about 300 of this puissant chivalry before and around him, the sultan was himself seated near the garden-door in a sort of cane-basket covered with silk, and his face entirely shaded beneath a turban of more than



Sultau of Bornou.

Presents
given.

the usual magnitude. The presents were silently deposited; nothing passed; and the courtiers, tottering beneath the weight of their turbans and their bellies, could not display that punctilious activity which had been so annoying at the palace of the sheik. This was all that was ever seen of the sultan of Bornou. The party then set out for Kouka, passing on their way through Angornou, the largest city in the kingdom, containing at least 30,000 inhabitants.

Native
markets.

During his residence at these two towns, Major Denham frequently attended the markets, where, besides the proper Bornouese, he saw the Shouaas, an Arab tribe, who are the chief breeders of cattle; the Kanemboos from the north, with their hair neatly and tastefully plaited; and the Musgow, a southern clan of the most

savage aspect. A loose robe or shirt of the cotton cloth of the country, often fine and beautifully dyed, was the universal dress; and high rank was indicated by six or seven of these worn one above another. Ornament was studied chiefly in plaiting the hair, in attaching to it strings of brass or silver beads, in inserting large pieces of amber or coral into the nose, the ear, and the lip; and when to these was added a face streaming with oil, the Bornouese belle was fully equipped for conquest. Thus adorned, the wife or daughter of a rich Shouaa might be seen entering the market in full style, bestriding an ox, which she managed dexterously by a leathern thong passed through the nose, and whose unwieldy bulk she even contrived to torture into something like capering and curvetting. Angornou is the chief market, and the crowd there is sometimes immense, amounting to 80,000 or 100,000 individuals. All the produce of the country is bought and sold in the open street; for shops and warehouses do not enter into the system of African traffic. There is displayed an abundance of their principal grain, called gussub, a good deal of wheat and rice, large droves of bullocks, and considerable numbers of sheep and fowls; but not a vegetable except a few onions, nor fruit of any kind,—the Bornouese not having yet attained to the production of these luxuries. The objects most prized are pieces of amber, coral, and brass, to adorn the countenances of the females: these are sold readily, and paid in money, while other articles are usually exchanged for cloth. Young lions are sometimes offered for sale to be kept as domestic favourites. The major found one of them enclosed by a crowd of spectators, and was invited to step up and stroke it on the mane. He was about to comply, though with sensations which he admits himself unable to describe, when the animal suddenly darted past him, broke through the circle, and rushed to another station. The sheik afterwards sent him a young one as a pet, which he politely returned, expressing regret at not being able to find room for it.

Bornou, taken altogether, forms an extensive plain,

CHAP. XII.

—
Dress of the
different
tribes.

Female dress
and orna-
ments.

Objects most
in request.

CHAP. XII.

Periodical
changes on
the bed of
the Tchad.

Number of
wild beasts.

Cultivation
of the land.

Mode of
fishing.

stretching 200 miles along the western shore of Lake Tchad, and nearly the same distance inland. This sea periodically changes its bed in a singular manner. During the rains, when its tributary rivers pour in thrice the usual quantity of water, it inundates an extensive tract, from which it retires in the dry season. This space, then overgrown with dense underwood, and with grass twice the height of a man, contains a motley assemblage of wild beasts,—lions, panthers, hyenas, elephants, and serpents of extraordinary form and bulk. These monsters, while undisturbed in this vast den, generally remain tranquil, or war only with each other; but when the lake swells, and its waters rush in, they of necessity seek refuge among the abodes of men, to whom they prove the most dreadful scourge. Not only the cattle, but the slaves tending the grain, often fall victims; they even rush in large bodies into the towns. The fields beyond the reach of this annual inundation are very fertile; and land may be had in any quantity by him who has slaves to cultivate it. This service is performed by females from Musgow, who, aiding their native ugliness by the insertion of a large piece of silver into the upper lip, which throws it entirely out of shape, are estimated according to the quantity of hard work they can execute. The processes of agriculture are extremely simple. Their only fine manufacture is that of *tobes*, or vestments of cotton skilfully woven and beautifully dyed, but still not equal to those of Soudan. In other handicrafts they are very inexpert,—even in works of iron, which are of the greatest use to a martial people.

The Bornouese have, however, an ingenious mode, represented in the accompanying plate, of fishing with a very simple apparatus. They select two large gourds, and fasten them to each end of a stem of bamboo, and the fisherman seating himself upon this machine, floats with the current, and throws his net. On drawing it up he lays it before him, stuns the fish with a mace, and pries them into the gourds. They are afterwards dried, and conveyed over the country to a considerable distance.



Fishing in the River Yeou.

This people are complete negroes both in form and feature ; they are ugly, simple, and good-natured, but destitute of all intellectual culture. Only a few of the great *fighis*, or doctors, of whom the sheik was one, can read the Koran. A “great writer” indeed is held in still higher estimation than with us ; but his compositions consist only of words written on scraps of paper to be enclosed in cases, and worn as amulets. They are then supposed to defend their possessor against every danger, to act as charms to destroy his enemies, and to be the main instrument in the cure of all diseases. For this last purpose they are aided only by a few simple applications ; yet the Bornou practice is said to be very successful, either through the power of imagination, or owing to their excellent constitutions. In the absence of all refined pleasures, various rude sports are pursued with eagerness, and almost with fury : The most favourite is wrestling, which the chiefs do not practise in person, but train their slaves to it as our jockeys do game-cocks, taking the same pride in their prowess and victory. Nations are often pitched against each other, the Musgowsy and the Begharmi being the most powerful.

Character of
the natives.

Medical
amulets and
charms.

CHAP. XII. Many of them are extremely handsome and of gigantic size ; and hence their contests are truly terrible. Their masters loudly cheer them on, offering high premiums for victory, and sometimes threatening instant death in case of defeat. They place their trust, not in science, but in main strength and rapid movements. Occasionally the wrestler, eluding his adversary's vigilance, seizes him by the thigh, lifts him into the air, and dashes him against the ground. When the match is decided, the victor is greeted with loud plaudits by the spectators, some of whom even testify their admiration by throwing to him presents of fine cloth. He then kneels before his master, who not unfrequently bestows upon him a robe worth thirty or forty dollars, taken perhaps from his own person. Death or maiming, however, is no unfrequent result in such encounters. To these recreations is added gaming, always the rage of uncultivated minds. Their favourite game is one rudely played with beans, by means of holes made in the sand.

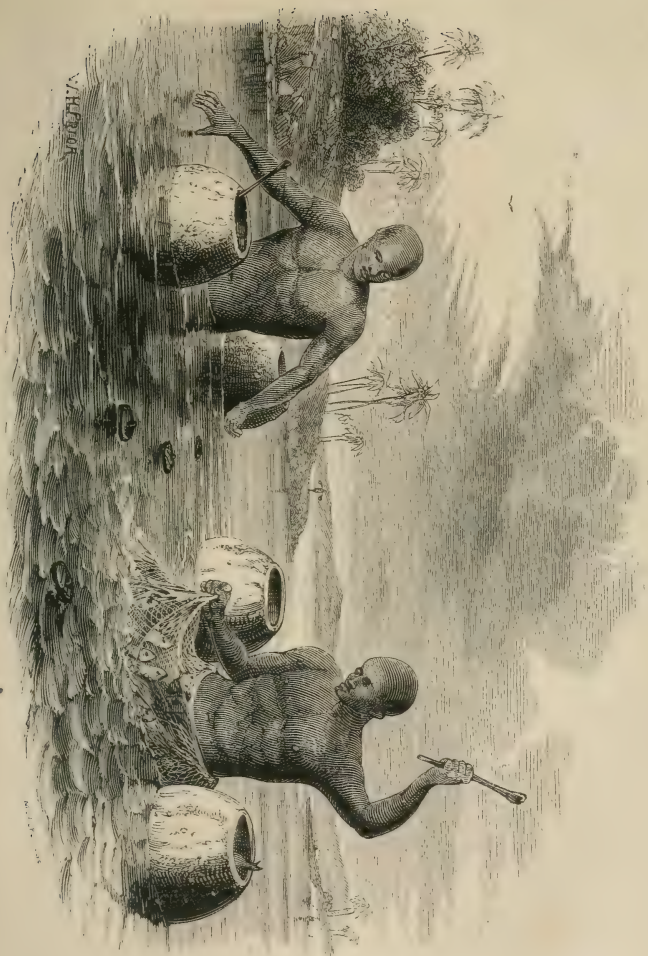
Feats of
wrestling.

Rewards to
the victor.

Plans of Boo
Khalloom.

Excursion
for capturing
slaves.

Boo Khalloom, having despatched his affairs in Bornou, wished to turn his journey to some farther account, and proposed an expedition into the more wealthy and commercial region of Houssa or Soudan ; but the eager wishes of his followers pointed to a different object. They called upon him to lead them into the mountains of Mandara in the south, to attack a village of the kerdies, or unbelievers, and carry off the people as slaves to Fezzan. He long stood out against this nefarious proposal ; but the sheik, who also had his own views, took part against him ; even his own brother joined the malecontents, and at length there appeared no other mode in which he could return with equal credit and profit. Influenced by these inducements, he suffered his better judgment to be overpowered, and determined to conduct his troop upon this perilous and guilty excursion ; while Denham, allowing his zeal for discovery to overcome other considerations, contrived, notwithstanding the prohibition of the sheik, to be one of the party. They were accompanied by Barca Gana, the principal general,



a negro of huge strength and great courage, along with other warriors, and a large troop of Bornou cavalry. These last are a fine body of men in point of external appearance. Their persons are covered with iron plate and mail, and they manage, with surprising dexterity, their little active steeds, which are also supplied with defensive armour. They have one fault only, but that a serious one,—they cannot stand the shock of an enemy. While the contest continues doubtful, they hover round as spectators, ready, should the tide turn against them, to spur on their coursers to a rapid flight ; but if they see their friends victorious, and the enemy turning their backs, they come forward and display no small vigour in pursuit and plunder.

CHAP. XII.

Troops of
Bornou
cavalry.

The road to Mandara formed a continued ascent through a fertile country which contained some populous towns. The path being quite overgrown with thick and prickly underwood, twelve pioneers went forward with long poles, opening a track, pushing back the branches, and giving warning to beware of holes. These operations they accompanied with loud praises of Barca Gana, calling out,—“ Who is in battle like the rolling of thunder ? Barca Gana. In battle who spreads terror around him like the buffalo in his rage ? Barca Gana.” Even the chiefs on this expedition carried no provisions except a paste of rice, flour, and honey, with which they contented themselves, unless when sheep could be procured ; in which case half the animal, roasted over a frame-work of wood, was placed on the table, and the sharpest dagger present was employed in cutting it into large pieces, to be eaten without bread or salt. At length they approached Mora, the metropolis of Mandara. This was another kingdom which the energy of its present sultan had rescued from the yoke of the Fellata empire ; and the strong position of its capital, enclosed by lofty ridges of hills, had enabled it to defy repeated attacks. It consists of a fine plain, bordered on the south by an immense and almost interminable range of mountains. The eminences directly in front were not quite so lofty

Appearance
of the
country.Provision for
the expedi-
tion.

CHAP. XII.

Ranges of
hills.

Natives of
the hill
villages.

Anticipations
of plunder.

Reception by
the Sultan of
Mandara.

as the hills of Cumberland, but bold, rocky, and precipitous, while distant peaks appeared towering much higher, and shooting up a line of sharp pinnacles resembling the needles of Mont Blanc. It was reported, that two months were required to cross their greatest breadth and reach the other side, where they rose ten times higher, and were called large *moon* mountains. They there overlooked the plain of Adamowa, through which a great river, that has been erroneously supposed to be the Quorra or Niger, was said to flow from the westward. The hills immediately in view were thickly clustered with villages perched on their sides and even on their summits, and were distinctly seen from the plain. They were occupied by half-savage tribes, whom the ferocious bigotry of the nations in the low country branded as pagans, and whom they claimed a right to plunder, seize, and drive in crowds for sale to the markets of Fezzan and Bornou. "The fires, which were visible in the different nests of these unfortunate beings, threw a glare upon the bold rocks and blunt promontories of granite by which they were surrounded, and produced a picturesque and somewhat awful appearance." A baleful joy gleamed in the visage of the Arabs as they eyed these abodes of their future victims, whom they already fancied themselves driving in bands across the Desert. "A kerdy village to plunder!" was all their cry, and Boo Khalloom doubted not that he would be able to gratify their wishes. Their common fear of the Fellatas had united the Sultan of Mandara in close alliance with the sheik, on whom he had lately conferred his daughter; and the nuptials had been celebrated by a great slave-hunt among the mountains, when, after a dreadful struggle, 3000 captives, who were sold for slaves, furnished out the materials of a magnificent marriage-festival.

The expedition obtained a reception quite as favourable as had been expected. In approaching the capital they were met by the sultan with 500 Mandara horse, who, charging full speed, wheeled round them with the same threatening movements which had been exhibited at

Bornou. The horses were of a superior breed, most skilfully managed, and covered with cloths of various colours, as well as with skins of the leopard and tiger-cat. Hence this cavalry made a very brilliant appearance; but the major did not yet know that their valour was not superior to that of their Bornou allies. The party were then escorted to the capital, amid the music of long pipes like clarionets, and of two immense trumpets. They were introduced next day. The mode of approaching the royal residence is to gallop up to the gate at full speed, which often causes fatal accidents; and on this occasion a man was ridden down and killed on the spot. The sultan was found in a tent of dark-blue cloth, sitting on a mud bench, surrounded by about 200 attendants, handsomely arrayed in silk and cotton robes. He was an intelligent little man, about fifty years old, with a beard dyed sky-blue. Courteous salutations were exchanged; during which he steadily fixed his eyes on the major, concerning whom he at last inquired; and the traveller was advantageously introduced as belonging to a powerful distant nation, in alliance with the Bashaw of Tripoli. At last, however, came the fatal question,—“Is he Moslem?”—“*La! la!*—No! no!”—“What! has the great bashaw Caffre friends?”—Every eye was instantly averted; the sun of Denham’s favour was set; and he was never again allowed to enter the palace.

The bigotry of this court seems to have surpassed even its usual bitterness among the African tribes, and our traveller had to undergo a regular persecution, carried on especially by Malem Chadily, the leading *fighi* of the court. As the major was showing to the admiring chiefs the mode of writing with a pencil and effacing it with Indian rubber, Malem wrote some words of the Koran with such force that their traces could not be wholly removed. He then exclaimed with triumph, “They are the words of God, delivered to his prophet; I defy you to erase them!” The Englishman was then called upon to acknowledge this great miracle; and, as his countenance still expressed incredulity, he was viewed

CHAP. XII

Brilliant appearance of the cavalry.

The Sultan of Mandara.

Bigotry of the Moslems.

Ingenious test of one of the courtiers

CHAP. XII.

Exhortations
of Malem
Chadilv.

Moslem
attempts to
convert
Denham.

Impatience
of the
traveller.

Kerdv sup-
plications for
mercy.

with looks of such mingled contempt and indignation as induced him to retire. Malem, however, again assailed him with the assurance that this was only one of the many miracles which he could show to be wrought by the Koran; imploring him to turn, and paradise would be his, otherwise nothing could save him from eternal fire. "Oh!" said he, "while sitting in the third heaven I shall see you in the midst of the flames crying out to your friend Barca Gana and myself for a drop of water; but the gulf will be between us:" his tears then flowed profusely. The major, taking the general aside, entreated to be relieved from this incessant persecution; but Gana assured him that the fighi was a great and holy man, to whom he ought to listen. He then held out not only paradise, but honours, slaves, and wives of the first families, as gifts to be lavished on him by the sheik if he would renounce his unbelief. Our countryman asked the commander, what would be thought of himself if he should go to England and turn Christian? "God forbid!" exclaimed he; "but how can you compare our faiths? mine would lead you to paradise, while yours would bring me to hell. Not a word more."—Nothing appears to have annoyed the stranger so much as to be told that he was of the same faith with the kerdies or savages; little distinction being made between any who denied the Koran. After a long discussion of this question, he thought the validity of his reasoning would be admitted, when he could point to a party of those wretches devouring a dead horse, and appealed to Boo Khalloom if he had ever seen the English do the same; but to this, which was not after all a very deep theological argument, the Arab replied,—“I know they eat the flesh of swine; and, God knows, that is worse.”—“Grant me patience!” exclaimed the major to himself,—“this is almost too much to bear and to remain silent.”

The unfortunate kerdies, from the moment they saw Arab tents in the valley of Mandara, knew the dreadful calamity which awaited them. To avert it, and to propitiate their leader, numerous parties came down with

presents of honey, asses, and slaves. Finally appeared the Musgow, a more distant and savage race, mounted on small fiery steeds, covered only with the skin of a goat or leopard, and wearing necklaces made of the teeth of their enemies. They threw themselves at the feet of the sultan, casting sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The monarch, apparently moved by these gifts and entreaties, began to intimate to Boo Khalloom his hopes that these savages might by gentle means be reclaimed and led to embrace the true faith. These hopes were held by the latter in the utmost derision; and he privately assured Major Denham that nothing would more annoy this devout Mussulman than to see them fulfilled, whereby he must have forfeited all right to drive these unhappy creatures in crowds to the markets of Soudan and Bornou. In fact, both his highness and the sheik had a much deeper aim. Every effort was used to induce Boo Khalloom to engage in the attack of some strong Fellata posts, by which the country was hemmed in; and as the two monarchs viewed the Arabs with extreme jealousy, it was strongly suspected that their defeat would not have been regarded as a public calamity. The royal councils were secret and profound, and it was not known what influences worked upon Boo Khalloom. On this occasion unfortunately he was mastered by his evil genius, and consented to the proposed attack; but as he came out and ordered his troops to prepare for marching, his countenance bore such marks of uneasiness that the major asked if all went well, to which he hurriedly answered, "Please God." The Arabs, however, who at all events expected plunder, proceeded with alacrity.

The expedition set out next morning, and after passing through a beautiful plain, began to penetrate the mighty chain of mountains which forms the southern border of the kingdom. Alpine heights, rising around them in rugged magnificence and gigantic grandeur, presented scenery which our traveller had never seen surpassed. The passes of Hairey and of Horza, amid a

CHAP. XII

—
Deputation
of the Mus-
gow tribe.

Politic plans
of the sultan.

Setting out
of the expe-
dition.

- CHAP. XII. superb amphitheatre of hills, closely shut in by overhanging cliffs, more than 2000 feet high, were truly striking. Here, for the first time in Africa, did Nature appear to the English to revel in the production of vegetable life : the trees were covered with luxuriant and bright-green foliage ; and their trunks were hidden by a crowd of parasitical plants, whose aromatic blossoms perfumed the air. There was also an abundance of animal life of a less agreeable description. Three scorpions were killed in the tent ; and a fierce but beautiful panther, more than eight feet long, just as he had gorged himself by sucking the blood of a newly-killed negro, was attacked and speared. The sultan and Barca Gana were attended by a considerable body of Bornou and Mandara cavalry, whose brilliant armour, martial aspect, and skilful horsemanship, gave confidence to the European officer, who had not yet seen them put to the proof.
- Magnificent natural scenery.
- Destruction of a panther
- Attack on a Fellata town
- Cowardice of the cavalry.
- It was the third day when the expedition came in view of the Fellata town of Dirkulla. The Arabs, supported by Barca Gana and about 100 spearmen, marched instantly to the attack, and carried first that place, and then a smaller town beyond it, killing all who had not time to escape. The enemy, however, then intrenched themselves in a third and stronger position, called Musfeia, enclosed by high hills, and fortified in front by numerous swamps and palisades. This was likewise attacked, and all its defences forced. The guns of the Arabs spread terror, and Barca Gana with his own hand threw eight spears, every one of which took effect. It was thought that, had the two bodies of cavalry made even a show of advancing, the victory would have been at once decided ; but Major Denham was much surprised to see those puissant warriors keeping carefully under cover behind a hill on the opposite side of the stream, where not an arrow could reach them. The Fellatas, seeing that their antagonists were only a handful, rallied on the tops of the hills, and being joined by additional numbers, turned round. Their women behind cheered them on, supplying them with arrows, and rolling down

fragments of rock on the assailants. These arrows were tipped with poison, and, whatever limb they pierced, the whole body in a few hours became black, blood gushed from every orifice, and the victim expired in agony. The condition of the Arabs soon became alarming: scarcely a man was left unhurt, and their horses were dying under them. Boo Khalloom and his charger were both wounded with poisoned arrows. As soon as the Fellatas saw the Arabs waver, they dashed in with their horse; at sight of whom all the heroic squadrons of Bornou and Mandara put spurs to their steeds, the sultan at their head, and the whole became one mass of confused and tumultuous flight. Denham saw too late the peril into which he had inconsiderately plunged: his horse, pierced to the shoulder-bone, could scarcely support his weight, while the cries of the pursuing enemy urged him forward. At length the animal falling to the ground threw him with violence against a tree, then, frightened by the noise behind, it started up and ran off. The Fellatas were instantly upon him, when four of his companions were stabbed at his side, uttering the most frightful cries. He himself fully expected to be treated in the same manner; but happily his clothes formed a rich booty, through which the savages were loath to run their spears. After inflicting some slight wounds, therefore, they stripped him to the skin, and forthwith began to quarrel about the plunder. While they were thus busied, he contrived to slip away, and though hotly pursued, and nearly overtaken, succeeded in reaching a mountain-stream gliding at the bottom of a deep and precipitous ravine. Here he had snatched the young branches issuing from the stump of a large overhanging tree, in order to let himself down into the water, when, beneath his hand, a large *liffa*, the most dangerous serpent in that country, rose from its coil, as in the very act of darting upon him. Struck with horror, he lost all recollection, and fell headlong into the water; but the shock instantly revived him, and, with three strokes of his arm, he reached the opposite bank, and felt himself for the moment in safety. Running forward,

CHAP. XII.

—
Courage and
perseverance
of the
Fellatas.

Peril of
Major
Denham.

Escape from
fresh
dangers.

CHAP. XII.

Escape to his friends.

Fall of Boo Khalloom.

Kindness of Malem Chadily.

Loss of the Arabs.

he was delighted to see his friends Barca Gana and Boo Khalloom ; but amid the cheers with which they were endeavouring to rally their troops, and the cries of those who were falling under the Fellata spears, he could not for some time make himself heard. Then Maramy, a negro appointed by the sheik to attend him, rode up and lifted him on his own horse. The Arab leader ordered a burnouse to be thrown over him,—very seasonably, for the burning sun had begun to blister his naked body. Suddenly, however, Maramy called out, “ See, see ! Boo Khalloom is dead ! ” and, at the same moment, that spirited chief, overpowered by his wounds, dropped from his horse, and rose no more. The others now thought only of pressing their flight, and soon reached a stream, where they refreshed themselves by copious draughts, and a halt was made to collect the stragglers. Denham here fell into a swoon ; during which, as he afterwards learned, Maramy complained that the jaded horse could scarcely carry the stranger forward, when Barca Gana said,—“ By the head of the prophet ! Believers enough have breathed their last to-day ; why should we concern ourselves about a Christian’s death ? ” Malem Chadily, however, so bitter as a theological opponent, showed now the influence of a milder spirit, and said,—“ No, God has preserved him ; let us not abandon him ; ” and Maramy declared,—“ His heart told him what to do. ” They therefore moved on slowly till about midnight, when they passed the Mandara frontier in a state of severe suffering ; but the major met with much kindness from a dethroned prince, Mai Meegamy, who, seeing his wounds festering under the rough woollen cloak which formed his only covering, took off his own trousers and gave them to him.

The Arabs lost forty-five of their number, besides their chief ; the survivors were in a miserable plight, most of them wounded, some mortally, and all deprived of their camels and the rest of their property. Renouncing their pride, they were obliged to supplicate from Barca Gana a handful of corn to keep them from starv-

ing. The Sultan of Mandara, in whose cause they had suffered, treated them with the utmost contumely, which perhaps they might deserve, but certainly not from him. Deep sorrow was afterwards felt in Fezzan when they arrived in this deplorable condition and reported the fall of their chief who was there almost idolized. A national song was composed on the occasion, which the following extract will show to be marked by great depth of feeling, and not devoid of poetical beauty :

CHAP. XII.

Ungenerous
conduct of
the Sultan of
Mandara.

“ Oh ! trust not to the gun and the sword : The spear of the unbeliever prevails !

“ Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen ! Who shall now be safe ? Even as the moon amongst the little stars, so was Boo Khalloom amongst men ! Where shall Fezzan now look for her protector ? Men hang their heads in sorrow, while women wring their hands, rending the air with their cries ! As a shepherd is to his flock, so was Boo Khalloom to Fezzan !

Funeral song
of Boo Khal-
loom.

“ Give him songs ! Give him music ! What words can equal his praise ? his heart was as large as the Desert ! his coffers were like the rich overflowings from the udder of the she-camel, comforting and nourishing those around him !

“ Even as the flowers without rain perish in the field, so will the Fezzaners droop ; for Boo Khalloom returns no more.

“ His body lies in the land of the heathen ! The poisoned arrow of the unbeliever prevails !

“ Oh ! trust not to the gun and the sword ! The spear of the heathen conquers ! Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen ! Who shall now be safe ?”

The sheik of Bornou was considerably mortified by the result of this expedition, and the miserable figure made by his troops, though he sought to throw the chief blame on the Mandara part of the armament. He now invited the major to accompany an expedition against the Mungas, a rebel tribe on his southern border, on which occasion he was to employ his native band of Kanemboo spearmen, who, he trusted, would redeem the military

Mortification
of the sheik
of Bornou.

CHAP. XII.

Expedition
against the
Mungas.

Etiquette of
the sultan's
court

Desolating
effects of war.

Traces of
former civi-
lization.

reputation of the monarchy. Major Denham was always ready to go wherever he had a chance of seeing the manners and scenery of Africa. The sheik took the field, attended by his armour-bearer, his drummer fantastically dressed in a straw hat with ostrich-feathers, and followed by three wives, whose heads and persons were wrapped up in brown silk robes, and each led by a eunuch. He was preceded by five green and red flags, on each of which were extracts from the Koran, written in letters of gold. Etiquette even required that the sultan should follow with his unwieldy pomp, having a harem, and attendance much more numerous; while *frumfrums*, or wooden trumpets, were continually sounded before him. This monarch is too dignified to fight in person; but his guards, the swollen and overloaded figures formerly described, enveloped in multiplied folds, and groaning beneath the weight of ponderous amulets, produced themselves as warriors, though manifestly unfit to face any real danger.

The route lay along the banks of the river Yeou, called also Gambarou, through a country naturally fertile and delightful, but presenting a most dismal picture of the desolation occasioned by African warfare. The expedition passed upwards of thirty towns, completely destroyed by the Fellatas in their last inroad, and of which all the inhabitants had been either killed or carried into slavery. These fine plains were now overgrown with forests and thickets, in which grew tamarind and other trees, producing delicate fruits; while large bands of monkeys, called by the Arabs "enchanted men," filled the woods with their cries. Here, too, was found Old Birnie, the ancient but now desolate capital, evidently much larger than any of the present cities, covering five or six miles with its ruins. They passed also Gambarou, formerly the favourite residence of the sultans, where the remains of a palace and of two mosques gave an idea of civilisation superior to any thing that had yet been seen in Interior Africa. There were left in this country only small detached villages, the inhabitants

of which remained fixed to them by local attachment, in spite of constant predatory inroads by the Tuaricks, who carried off their friends, their children, and cattle. They have recourse to one mode of defence, which consists in digging a number of *blaquas*, or large pits; these they cover with a false surface of sods and grass, into which the Tuarick, with his horse, plunges before he is aware, and is received at the bottom upon sharp-pointed stakes, which often kill both on the spot. Unluckily, harmless travellers are not less liable to fall into these untimely graves. Major Denham was petrified with horror to find he had approached very near to several of them; indeed, one of his servants stepped upon the deceitful covering, and was saved only by taking an almost miraculous spring. It seems wonderful that the sheik should not have endeavoured to restore some kind of security to this portion of his subjects, and to repeople those fine but deserted regions.

CHAP. XII.
Secret modes
of defence.

Narrow
escape of
Major Den-
ham.

The troops that had been seen hastening in parties to the scene of action, were mustered at Kabshary, a town which the Mungas had nearly destroyed. The sheik held a review of his favourite forces, the Kanemboo spearmen, 9000 strong. They were really a very savage and military-looking host, entirely naked, except a girdle of goat-skin with the hair still attached, and a piece of cloth wrapped round the head. They carried large wooden shields, shaped like a Gothic window, with which they warded off the arrows of the enemy while they pressed forward to attack with their spears. Unlike almost all other barbarian armies, they kept a regular night-watch, passing the cry every half-hour along the line, and at any alarm raising a united yell, which was truly frightful. At the review they passed in tribes before their chief, to whom they showed the most enthusiastic attachment, kneeling on the ground and kissing his feet. The Mungas, again, were described as formidable antagonists, hardened by conflict with the Tuaricks, fighting on foot with poisoned arrows longer and more deadly than those of the Fellatas.—The group in the

Review of
the troops.

Night watch.

CHAP. XII.



Bornou Horseman, Kanemboo Spearman, and Munga Bowman.

Military ac-
coutrements.

accompanying plate shows the three celebrated military characters,—the Bornou horseman, the Kanemboo spearman, and the Munga bowman.

Singular in-
fluence of
superstitious
fears.

The sultan, however, contemplated other means of securing success, placing his main reliance on his powers as a Mohammedan doctor and writer. Three successive nights were spent in inscribing upon little scraps of paper figures or words, destined to exercise a magical influence upon the rebel host ; and their effect was heightened by the display of sky-rockets, supplied by Major Denham. Tidings of the chief being thus employed were conveyed to the camp, when the Mungas, stout and fierce warriors who never shrunk from an enemy, yielded to the power of superstition, and felt all their strength withered. It seemed to them that their arrows were blunted, their quivers broken, their hearts struck with sickness and fear ; in short, that to oppose a sheik of the Koran who

could accomplish such wonders, was alike vain and impious. They came in by hundreds, bowing themselves to the ground, and casting sand on their heads, in token of the most abject submission. At length Malem Fanamy, the leader of the rebellion, saw that resistance was hopeless. After offering in vain a conditional submission he appeared in person, mounted on a white horse, with 1000 followers. He was clothed in rags, and having fallen prostrate, was about to pour sand on his head, when the sultan, instead of permitting this humiliation, caused eight robes of fine cotton cloth, one after another, to be thrown over him, and his head to be wrapped in Egyptian turbans till it was augmented to six times its natural size, and no longer resembled any thing human. By such signal honours the sheik gained the hearts of those whom his pen had subdued ; and this wise policy enabled him not only to overcome the resistance of this formidable tribe, but to convert them into supporters and bulwarks of his power.

CHAP. XII.

Humiliation
of Malem
Fanamy.

Policy of the
sultan.

Major Denham, who always sought with laudable zeal to penetrate into the remotest parts of Africa, now found his way in another direction. He had heard much of the Shary, a great river flowing into Lake Tchad, on whose banks the kingdom of Loggun was situated ; and after several delays, he set out on the 23d January 1824, in company with Mr Toole, a spirited young volunteer, who, journeying by way of Tripoli and Mourzouk, had thence crossed the Desert to join him. The travellers passed through Angornou and Angala, and arrived at Showy, where they saw the river, which really proved to be a magnificent stream, fully half a mile broad, and flowing at the rate of two or three miles an hour. They descended it through a succession of noble reaches, bordered with fine woods, and a profusion of variously-tinted and aromatic plants. At length it opened into the wide expanse of the Tchad ; after viewing which they again ascended and reached the capital of Loggun, beneath whose high walls the river was again seen flowing in majestic beauty. The major entered, and found a handsome

New country
explored.

Appearance
of the river
Sharv.

CHAP. XII.

The capital
of Loggun.

Reception of
Denham at
court.

Manufactur-
ing industry.

Dark feature
of savage life.

city, with one street as wide as Pall-Mall, having large dwellings on either side, with spacious areas in front. Proceeding to the palace for the purpose of visiting the sovereign, he was led through several dark rooms into a wide and crowded court, at one end of which a lattice opened, and showed a pile of silk robes extended on a carpet, amid which two eyes became gradually visible : this was the sultan. On his appearance there arose a sounding of horns and frumfrums ; while all the attendants threw themselves prostrate, casting sand on their heads. In a voice which the court-fashion of Loggun required to be scarcely audible, the monarch inquired Major Denham's object in coming to his country, observing, that, if it was to purchase handsome female slaves, he need go no farther, since he himself had hundreds who could be afforded at a very cheap rate. This overture was rejected on other grounds than the price ; yet, notwithstanding so decided a proof of barbarism, the Loggunese were found a people more advanced in the arts of peace than any hitherto seen in Africa. By a studied neutrality, they avoided involving themselves in the dreadful wars which had desolated the neighbouring countries. Manufacturing industry was honoured, and the cloths woven here were superior to those of Bornou, being finely dyed with indigo, and beautifully glazed. There was even a current coin made of iron, somewhat in the form of a horse-shoe ; and rude as it was, none of their neighbours possessed any thing similar. The ladies were handsome, intelligent, and of a lively air and carriage ; but, besides pushing their frankness to excess, their general demeanour was by no means decorous. They used, in particular, the utmost diligence in stealing from Major Denham's person every thing that could be reached, even searching the pockets of his trousers ; and, when detected, only laughed, and remarked to one another how sharp he was. But the darkest feature of savage life was disclosed, when the sultan and his son each sent to solicit poison "that would not lie," to be used against the other. The latter even accompanied the request

with a bribe of three lovely black damsels, and ridiculed the horror which was expressed at the proposal.

CHAP. XII.

The Loggunese live in a country abounding in grain and cattle, and diversified with forests of lofty acacias and many beautiful shrubs. Its chief scourge consists in the millions of tormenting insects which fill the atmosphere, making it scarcely possible to go into the open air at mid-day without being thrown into a fever; indeed, children have been killed by their stings. The natives build one house within another to protect themselves against this plague; while some kindle a large fire of wet straw and sit in the smoke, a remedy which seems worse than the evil it is meant to obviate.

Abundance
of grain and
cattle.

Major Denham was much distressed on this journey by the death of his companion Mr Toole; and he could no longer delay his return when he learned that the Begharmis, with a large army, were crossing the Shary to attack Bornou. Soon after his arrival at Kouka the sheik led out his troops, which he mustered on the plain of Angala, and was there furiously attacked by 5000 of the enemy, led by 200 chiefs. The Begharmi cavalry are stout fierce-looking men, and both riders and horses still more thoroughly cased in mail than those of Bornou; but their courage, when brought to the proof, is nearly as contemptible. The sheik encountered them with his Kanemboo spearmen and a small band of musketeers, when, after a sharp conflict, the whole of this mighty host was thrown into the most disorderly flight; even the Bornou horsemen joined in the pursuit! Seven sons of the sultan, and almost all the chiefs fell; 200 of their favourite wives were taken, many of whom were said to be of exquisite beauty.

Death of Mr.
Toole.War with the
Begharmis.

Mr Tyrwhit, a gentleman sent out by government to strengthen the party, arrived on the 20th May, and on the 22d delivered to the sheik a number of presents, which were received with the highest satisfaction. In company with this gentleman, Major Denham, eager to explore Africa still farther, took advantage of another expedition undertaken against a tribe of Shouaa Arabs, distinguished

Arrival of Mr.
Tyrwhit.

CHAP. XII.

The La Sala
tribe.

Habits of a
nomade
tribe.

Evidences of
fine natural
affection.

Obstacles to
war.

by the name of La Sala,—a race of amphibious shepherds who inhabit certain islands along the south-eastern shores of the Tchad. These spots afford rich pasture ; while the water is so shallow, that, by knowing the channels, the natives can ride without difficulty from one of them to another. Barca Gana led 1000 men on this expedition, and was joined by 400 of a Shouaa horde, called Dugganahs, enemies to the La Salas. These allies presented human nature under a more pleasing aspect than it had yet been seen in that part of the world. They despise the negro nations, and all who live in houses, and still more in cities ; while they themselves reside in tents of skin, in circular camps, which they move periodically from place to place. They enjoy simple plenty derived from the produce of their flocks and herds, celebrate their joys and sorrows in extemporaneous poetry, and seem to be united by the strongest ties of domestic affection. Tahr, their chief, having closely examined our traveller as to the motives of his journey, said, “ And have you been three years from your home ? Are not your eyes dimmed with straining to the north, where all your thoughts must ever be ? If my eyes do not see the wife and children of my heart for ten days, they are flowing with tears when they should be closed in sleep.” On taking leave, his parting wish was, “ May you die at your own tents, and in the arms of your wife and family !” This chief might have sat for the picture of a patriarch : his fine serious expressive countenance, large features, and long bushy beard, afforded a favourable specimen of his tribe.

The united forces now marched to the shores of the lake, and began to reconnoitre the islands on which the Shouaas with their cattle and cavalry were stationed ; but the experienced eye of Barca Gana soon discerned that the channel, though shallow, was full of holes, and had a muddy, deceitful appearance. He proposed, therefore, to delay the attack till a resolute band of Kanemboospearmen should arrive and lead the way. The lowing, however, of the numerous herds, and the bleating of the

flocks on the green islands which lay before them, excited in the troops a degree of hunger as well as of military ardour, that was quite irrepressible. They called out, "What! be so near them and not eat them? No, no; let us on; this night these flocks and women shall be ours!" Barca Gana suffered himself to be hurried away, and plunged in among the foremost. Soon, however, the troops began to sink into the holes or stick in the mud; their guns and powder were wetted, and became useless; while the enemy, who knew every step, and could ride through the water as quickly as on land, at once charged the invaders in front, and sent round a detachment to attack them in the rear. The assault was accordingly soon changed into a disgraceful flight, in which those who had been the loudest in urging to this rash adventure set the example. Gana, who had boasted himself invulnerable, was deeply wounded through his coat-of-mail and four cotton tobes, and with difficulty rescued by his chiefs from five La Sala horsemen who had vowed his death. The army returned to their quarters in disappointment and dismay, and with a severe loss. During the whole night the Dugganah women were heard bewailing their husbands who had fallen, in dirges composed for the occasion, and with plaintive notes, which could not be listened to without the deepest sympathy. Major Denham was deterred by this disaster from making any farther attempt to penetrate to the eastern shores of the Tchad.

CHAP. XII.

Imprudent
attack.Defeat and
flight.Dirges of the
Dugganah
women.

The Biddoomahs are another tribe who inhabit extensive islands situated in the interior of the lake, amid its deep waters, which they navigate with nearly 1000 large boats. They neither cultivate the ground nor rear flocks or herds, while their manners appeared to our traveller the rudest and most savage observed even among Africans,—the Musgow always excepted. They have adopted as a religious creed, that God, having withheld from them corn and cattle, which the nations around enjoy, has given in their stead strength and courage, to be employed in taking these good things from all in whose

The Biddoo-
mah tribe.

CHAP. XII.

Warlike
creed of the
tribe.

Course of
Clapperton
and Oudney.

Strong Mos-
lem preju-
dices.

possession they may be found. To this belief they act up in the most devout manner, spreading terror and desolation over all the shores of this inland sea ; no part of which, even in the immediate vicinity of the great capitals, is for a moment secure from their ravages. The most powerful and warlike of the Bornou sovereigns, finding among their subjects neither the requisite skill nor experience in navigation, make no attempt to cope with the Biddoomahs on their watery domains ; and thus give up the lake to their undisputed sway.

While Denham was thus traversing, in every direction, Bornou and the surrounding countries, Clapperton and Oudney were proceeding through Houssa, by a route less varied and hazardous indeed, but disclosing forms both of nature and of society fully as interesting. They departed from Kouka on the 14th December 1823, and, after passing the site of Old Birnie, found the banks of the Yeou fertile, and diversified with towns and villages. On entering Katagum, the most easterly Fellata province, they observed a superior style of culture ; two crops of wheat being raised in one season by irrigation, and the grain stored in covered sheds, elevated from the ground on posts. The country to the south was covered with extensive swamps and mountains, tenanted by rude and pagan tribes, who furnish to the Faithful an inexhaustible supply of slaves. The practice of travelling with a caravan was found very advantageous, from the mutual help afforded, as well as from the good reports spread by the merchants respecting their European companions. In Bornou these last had been viewed with almost unmingled horror ; and, for having eaten their bread under the extremest necessity, a man had his testimony rejected in a court of justice. Some young Bornouese ladies, who accosted Major Denham, having ventured to say a word in his favour, an attendant matron exclaimed,—“ Be silent ! he is an uncircumcised Caffre,—neither washes nor prays, eats pork, and will go to hell ;” upon which the others screamed and ran off. But in Houssa this horror was not so great, and

was mingled with the belief that they possessed supernatural powers. Not only did the sick come in crowds expecting to be cured, but the ladies solicited amulets to restore their beauty, to preserve the affections of their lovers, and even to destroy a hated rival. The son of the governor of Kano having called upon Clapperton, stated it as his own conviction and that of the whole city, that the English had the power of converting men into asses, goats, and monkeys, and likewise that by reading in his book he could at any time commute a handful of earth into gold. The traveller having declared to him the difficulty he often found in procuring either asses or food, induced him, with trembling hands, to taste a cup of tea ; when he became more composed, and made a sort of recantation of his errors.

CHAP. XII.

Superstitious
virtues as-
cribed to the
travellers.

As the caravan proceeded, they met many other wayfarers, and found numerous females, sitting along the road, selling potatoes, beans, bits of roasted meat, and water with an infusion of gussub-grains ; and when they stopped at any place for the night, the people crowded in such numbers as to form a little market. Clapperton attracted the notice of many of the Fellata ladies, who, after examining him closely, declared, that had he only been less white, his external appearance might have merited approbation.

Native
traders.

The travellers passed through Sansan, a great market-place divided into three distinct towns, and Katagum, the strongly-fortified capital of the province, containing about 8000 inhabitants. Thence they proceeded to Murmur, where the severe illness under which Dr Oudney had long laboured came to a crisis. Though now in the last stage of consumption, he insisted on continuing his journey, and with the aid of his servant had been supported to his camel ; but Clapperton, seeing the ghastliness of death on his countenance, would not allow him to proceed. He replaced him in his tent, where soon afterwards he breathed his last without a groan. Resolving that he should be buried with the honours of the country, the major gave orders that the body should be washed,

Sansan and
its capital.

Death of Dr
Oudney.

CHAP. XII.

Appearance
of Katungwa.

wrapped in turban-shawls, and a wall of clay built round the grave to protect it from wild beasts. Two sheep were also killed and distributed among the poor.

Katungwa, the first town of Houssa Proper, and the next on the route, is situated in a country well enclosed and under high cultivation. To the south is an extensive range of rocky hills, amid which is the town of Zangeia, with its buildings picturesquely scattered over masses of rock. Clapperton passed also Girkwa, near a river of the same name, which appears to come from these hills, and to fall into the Yeou.

Kano the
chief city of
Houssa.

Two days after, he entered Kano, the Ghana of Edrisi, and which is now, as it was 600 years ago, the chief commercial city of Houssa and of all Central Africa. It disappointed him much on his first entry, and for a quarter of a mile, in fact, there scarcely appeared a city at all. Even in its more crowded quarters, the houses rose generally in clusters, separated by large stagnant pools. The inhabited part, on the whole, did not comprise more than a fourth of the space enclosed by the walls, the rest consisting of fields, gardens, and swamps; however, as the whole circuit is fifteen miles, there is ample space for the population which is thought to vary from 30,000 to 40,000. The market is held on a neck of land between two swamps, by which, during the rains, it is entirely overflowed; but in the dry season it is covered with sheds of bamboo, arranged into regular streets. Different quarters are allotted for the several kinds of produce; some for cattle, and others for vegetables; while fruits of various descriptions, so much neglected in Bornou, are here displayed in profusion. The fine cotton fabrics of the country are sold either in webs, or in what are called *tobes* and *turkadees*, with rich silken strips or borders ready to be added. Among the favourite articles are goora or kolla nuts, which are called African coffee, being supposed to give a peculiar relish to the water drunk after them; and crude antimony, with the black tint of which every eyebrow must be dyed. The Arabs also dispose here of sundry commodities that have become

Number of
the popula-
tion.

Articles of
trade.

obsolete in the north ; the cast-off dresses of the Mamelukes and other great men, and old sword-blades from Malta. But the busiest scene of all is the slave-market, composed of two long ranges of sheds, one for males and another for females. These poor creatures are seated in rows, decked out for exhibition, and the buyer scrutinizes them as nicely as a purchaser does a horse with us : he inspects the tongue, teeth, eyes, and limbs, makes them cough and perform various movements, to ascertain if there be any thing unsound ; and in case of a blemish appearing, or even without assigning a reason, he may return them within three days. As soon as the slaves are sold, the exposor gets back their finery, to be employed in ornamenting others. Most of the captives purchased at Kano are conveyed across the Desert, during which their masters endeavour to keep up their spirits by an assurance that, on passing its boundary, they will be set free and dressed in red, which they account the gayest of colours. Supplies, however, often fail in this dreary journey,—a want felt first by the slaves, many of whom perish through hunger and fatigue. Clapperton heard the doleful tale of a mother who had seen her child dashed to the ground, while she herself was compelled by the lash to drag on an exhausted frame. But when well treated, they are very gay,—an observation generally made in regard to slaves ; but this gayety, arising only from absence of thought, probably conceals much secret wretchedness.

The regulations of the market of Kano seem to be good, and strictly observed. A sheik superintends the police, and is said even to fix the prices ; and as the *dylalas*, or brokers, are men of somewhat high character, packages of goods are often sold unopened, bearing merely their mark. If the purchaser afterwards finds any defect, he returns them to the agent, who must grant compensation. The medium of exchange is not cloth as in Bornou, nor iron as in Loggun, but cowries, or little shells brought from the coast, twenty of which are worth a halfpenny, and 480 make a shilling ; so that, in paying

CHAP. XII.

Native slave market.

Cruel sufferings of the slaves.

Regulations of the market of Kano.

CHAP. XII. a pound sterling, one has to count over 9600 of them. Our countryman admires this currency, as excluding all attempts at forgery; but we should consider its use as at once tedious and inconvenient. Amid so many strangers there is ample room for the trade of the *restaurateur*, which is carried on by a female seated on the ground, with a mat on her knees, on which are spread vegetables, gussub-water, and bits of roasted meat about the size of a penny; these she retails to her customers squatted around. The killing of a bullock forms a sort of festival at Kano; its horns are dyed red with henna, public notice is given, and a crowd collected, who, if they approve of the appearance and condition of the animal, readily become purchasers.

Native boxing feats.

Boxing in Houssa, like wrestling in Bornou, forms a favourite exercise, and the grand national spectacle. Clapperton, having heard much of the *fancy* of Kano, intimated his willingness to pay for a performance, which was forthwith arranged. The whole body of butchers attended, acting as masters of the ceremonies; and, as soon as the tidings spread, girls left their pitchers at the wells, the market-people threw down their baskets, and an immense crowd was assembled. The ring being formed, and drums beat, the performers first advanced singly, plying their muscles like a musician tuning his instrument, and each calling out to the bystanders,—“I am a hyena! I am a lion! I can kill all that oppose me.” After about twenty had shown off in this manner, they came forward in pairs, wearing only a leathern girdle, and with their hands muffled in numerous folds of country cloth. It was first ascertained that they were not mutual friends; after which, they closed with the utmost fury, aiming their blows at the most mortal parts, such as the pit of the stomach, beneath the ribs, or under the ear. It is said they even endeavour to scoop out the eyes, so that, in spite of every precaution, these matches often terminate in the death of one of the combatants. Whenever Clapperton saw the affair verging to such an issue, he gave orders to stop; and,

Fierceness of their prize fights.

after seeing six pairs exhibit, he paid the hire and broke up the meeting. CHAP. XII.

From Kano he set out under the guidance of Mohammed Jollie, leader of an extensive caravan intended for Sackatoo, capital of the sultan of the Fellatas. The country was perhaps the finest in Africa, being under high cultivation, diversified with groves of noble trees, and traversed in a picturesque manner by ridges of granite. The manners of the people, too, were pleasing and pastoral. At many clear springs gushing from the rocks young women were drawing water ; and as an excuse for engaging in talk, our traveller asked several times for a draught to quench his thirst. “ Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying at the same time teeth of pearly whiteness, and eyes of the blackest lustre, they presented a gourd, and appeared highly delighted when I thanked them for their civility, remarking to one another, ‘ Did you hear the white man thank me ? ’ ” But the scene was changed on reaching the borders of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, which were in a state of rebellion against Sackatoo. The utmost alarm at that moment prevailed ; men and women, with their bullocks, asses, and camels, were pressing their retreat, every one crying out, “ Wo to the wretch that falls behind ! he will be sure to meet an unhappy end at the hands of the Gooberites.” There was danger even of being thrown down and trampled to death by the animals, which were furiously rushing backward and forward ; however, through the unremitting care of the escort, Clapperton made his way safely, though not without much fatigue and annoyance, along this perilous frontier.

Departure
for Sackatoo

Pleasing
manners of
the people.

Dangerous
rebellion.

On the 16th March 1824, after passing through the hilly district of Kamoon, the valleys began to open, and crowds of people were seen thronging to market with wood, onions, indigo, and other commodities. This indicated the approach to Sackatoo, which they soon saw from the top of a hill, and entered about noon. A multitude flocked to see the white man, and received him with cheers of welcome. The sultan had not returned

Approach to
Sackatoo.

CHAP. XII. from a slave hunt; but the *gadado*, or minister, performed handsomely the honours of the place. Next day the chief arrived, and instantly sent for Clapperton. The palace, as usual in Africa, consisted of a sort of enclosed town, with an open quadrangle in front; and the stranger, on entering the gate, was conducted through three huts serving as guard-houses, after which he found Sultan Bello seated on a small carpet in a painted and ornamented cottage. This ruler had a noble and commanding figure, with a high forehead and large black eyes. He gave the traveller a hearty welcome, and, after inquiring the particulars of his journey, proceeded to serious affairs. He produced books belonging to Major Denham, which had been taken in the disastrous battle of Dirkulla; and, though he expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction at the major's presence on that occasion, readily accepted an apology, and restored the volumes. He only asked to have the subject of each explained, and to hear the sound of the language, which he declared to be beautiful. He then began to press him with theological questions, and showed himself not wholly unacquainted with the controversies which have agitated the Christian world; indeed, he soon went beyond the depth of his visiter, who was obliged to own that he was not versant in the abstruser mysteries of divinity.

Reception by
the native
minister.

Intelligent
curiosity.

Astronomical
knowledge of
the sultan.

The sultan now opened a frequent and familiar communication with the English envoy, in which he displayed a good deal of information. The astronomical instruments, from which, as from implements of magic, many of his attendants started with horror, were examined by the monarch with an intelligent eye. On being shown the planisphere, he proved his knowledge of the planets, and even of many of the constellations, by repeating their Arabic names. The telescope, which presented objects inverted—the compass, by which he could always turn to the east in praying—and the sextant, which he called “the looking-glass of the sun,” excited peculiar interest. Being desirous to see an observation performed with the latter instrument, Clap-

perton, who had lost the key of the artificial horizon, asked a dagger to break it open; upon which his highness started, and half drew his sword, trembling violently. The other very prudently took no notice of this, but quietly opened the box, when the exhibition soon dispelled all unfavourable impressions. The sultan, however, inquired with evident jealousy into some points of English history that had come to his knowledge; as, the conquest of India, which the traveller endeavoured to represent as a mere arrangement to protect the natives, and particularly the Moslem part of the population. The attack on Algiers being also alluded to, was justly declared to have been made solely on account of her atrocious piracies.

CHAP. XI.

Apprehensions of the sultan.

Jealousy of English conquest.

Sackatoo appeared to the discoverer the most populous city he had seen in the interior of Africa. The houses stand more close than in most other towns of Houssa, and are laid out regularly in well-built streets. It is surrounded by a wall between twenty and thirty feet high, with twelve gates, which are punctually shut at sunset. The dwellings of the principal inhabitants consist of clusters of cottages and flat-roofed houses in the Moorish style, enclosed in the usual manner. There are two mosques, one of which, then building, was 800 feet long, adorned with numerous pillars of wood plastered with clay, and highly ornamented.

Impression of Sockatoo.

Clapperton, desirous to accomplish his main object, solicited a guide to the western countries and the Gulf of Benin. By this route he might investigate the course of the Joliba and the fate of Park; he might also pave the way for a commercial intercourse, which would be of some benefit to Britain, and of great advantage to Africa. The sultan at first gave assurances of permission and aid in travelling through every part of his dominions; but when our countryman specified Nyffe on the banks of the Niger, Youri where the papers of Park were reported to be kept, Rakah and Fundah where that river was said to fall into the sea, the courtiers began to demur. Professing solicitude for his safety, they represented that

Guide to the Gulf of Benin solicited

CHAP. XII.

—
Influence of
Arab machi-
nations.

Disturbed
state of the
country.

Supposed
motives of
the sultan.

Account of
Park's death.

the season was becoming unfavourable, and that rebellion and civil war were raging to such a pitch in those countries as to make even the mighty protection of Sultan Bello insufficient for his security. He strongly suspected that this change was produced by the machinations of the Arabs, and particularly of Mohammed Gomsoo, their chief, notwithstanding the warm declarations of friendship made to him by that personage. They were supposed to be apprehensive, that, were a communication opened with the western coast, Interior Africa might be supplied with European goods by that shorter route, instead of being brought by themselves across the Desert. Perhaps these suspicions were groundless; for the state of the country was afterwards found to be, if possible, worse than had been described, and the ravages of the Fellatas so terrible, that any one coming from among them was likely to experience a very disagreeable reception. Indeed, it may be suspected that the sultan must have been a good deal embarrassed by the indifference with which his guest listened to his pompous boasting as to the extent of his empire, and by the earnestness with which he entreated him to name one of his seaports where the English might land, when it is certain that he had not a town which was not some hundred miles distant from the coast. To prevent the disclosure of this fact, which must have taken place had our traveller proceeded in that direction, might be an additional motive for refusing his sanction. In short it was finally announced to Clapperton, that no escort could be found to accompany him on so rash an enterprise, and that he could return to England only by retracing his steps.

Here the traveller obtained an account of Park's death, corresponding in the main points with the statement given by Amadi Fatouma. The Niger, it appears, called here the Quorra, after passing Timbuctoo, turns to the south, and flows in that direction till it crosses the parallel of Sackatoo, only a few days' journey to the westward; but whether it reached the sea, or, making an immense circuit, became the Shary, and poured itself into the

basin of the Tchad, were points on which his informants varied greatly. CHAP. XII.

Returning by a different route, the lieutenant visited Zirmie, the capital of Zamfra, a kind of outlawed city, the inhabitants of which are esteemed the greatest rogues in Houssa, and where all runaway slaves find protection. He passed also through Kashna or Cassina, the metropolis of a kingdom which, till the rise of the Fellata power, ruled over all Africa from Bornou to the Niger. In its present subject and fallen state, the inhabited part does not cover a tenth of the wide circuit enclosed by its walls; yet a considerable trade is still carried on with the Tuaricks, or with caravans crossing the Desert by the route of Ghadamis and Tuat. Here our traveller met with much kindness from Hadgi Ahmet, a powerful Arab chief, who even took him into his seraglio, and desired him, out of fifty black damsels, to make his choice, —a complaisance, nothing resembling which had ever before been shown by a Mussulman. But our countryman, being indisposed, only picked out an ancient maiden to serve as a nurse. Route on
returning.

Present state
of Kashna.

Clapperton rejoined Major Denham at Kouka, whence they set out, and recrossed the Desert in the latter part of 1824. Having reached Tripoli next January, they soon after embarked for Leghorn; but, being detained by contrary winds and quarantine regulations, did not reach London till June. Meeting of
Clapperton
and Denham.

CHAPTER XIII.

Clapperton's Second Journey—Laing—Caillié.

Objects of this Journey—Departure from Badagry—Death of Pearce and of Morrison—Kingdom of Yarriba—Eyeo—Kiama—Wawa—Boussa—Particulars respecting Park—Nyffe—Koolfu—Zaria—Kano—Siege of Coonia—Violent Conduct of Sultan Bello—Sickness and Death of Clapperton at Sackatoo—His Servant Lander returns, partly by a new Route—Laing's Expedition—He reaches Timbuctoo—Assassinated—Caillié undertakes a Journey—Reaches Jenne—Timbuctoo—Aroan—The Desert—Arrival at Tangier.

CHAP. XIII. It is clear that, in spite of some occasional symptoms of jealousy, and even of alarm, the Sultan of the Fellatas manifested a considerable inclination to cultivate intercourse with the English. He was even understood to say, that messengers should wait at Rakah and Fundah, or at some port on the coast, to conduct a new mission to Sackatoo. These promises, it is probable, were mere inferences drawn from the empty boasts of his highness; he being master neither of Rakah nor Fundah, nor of any place within a great distance of the Gulf of Benin. Be this as it may, there seemed good ground to expect a welcome for the British envoys when they should reach his capital; and in that direction, it was conjectured, were to be found the termination of the Niger, and also the most direct channel of trade with regions already ascertained to be the finest in Africa.

Friendly manifestations of the sultan of the Felletas.

Reappointment of Clapperton.

These were views to which the statesmen who conducted the naval department at home were never insensible. Clapperton, now promoted to the rank of captain, was equipped afresh, and sent to the Gulf of

Benin ; Captain Pearce, an excellent draftsman, and Mr Morrison, being named as his associates, the latter a surgeon of some experience, whose skill, it was hoped, might be of great avail in preserving the health of the whole expedition.

CHAP. XIII.

Pearce and Morrison.

The mission, in the end of 1825, reached its destination ; but, as might perhaps have been anticipated, they could hear nothing of Rakah or of Fundah, of any messengers sent by Bello, nor of any town subject to him on this coast. They were not, however, discouraged ; and having consulted Mr Houtson, whom a long residence had made thoroughly acquainted with the country, they were advised not to attempt ascending the banks of the river,—a circuitous track, and covered with pestilential swamps,—but to take the route from Badagry as the most direct and commodious, and by which, in fact, almost all the caravans from Houssa come down to the shores of the Atlantic.

New route determined on.

On the seventh of December the party set out from Badagry. But at the very first they were guilty of a fatal imprudence ; for during the two succeeding nights they slept in the open air, and on the last occasion in the public market-place of Dagmoo, without even their beds, which had been sent away by mistake. The consequence was, that in a day or two Morrison and Pearce were attacked with a dangerous fever, and Clapperton with fits of ague. Instead, too, of stopping in one of the towns, and endeavouring by rest to recruit their exhausted strength, we find them pushing on till the 22d, when the chief of the expedition, seeing the illness of his two companions increase, urged them either to remain behind or return to Badagry. They insisted on proceeding ; but next day Mr Morrison, who could struggle no longer, departed for the coast, and he died before reaching it. Captain Pearce persevered, till, sinking on the road, he breathed his last at nine in the evening of the 27th. The survivor was thus left to pursue his way in very painful and desolate circumstances. He had only a faithful servant, Richard Lander, who stood by him in all his

Set out from Badagry.

Illness and death of Morrison and Pearce.

CHAP. XIII.

Entering the
kingdom of
Yarriba.

fortunes, with Pascoe an African, not the most trusty of his race, whom he had hired at Badagry.

After a journey of sixty miles, the travellers entered the kingdom of Yarriba, called also from its capital Eyeo. This country had long been considered on the coast as the most populous, powerful, and flourishing of all Western Africa, holding even Dahomey in vassalage. It answered the most favourable descriptions of it; the fields were extensively cleared, and covered with thriving plantations of Indian corn, millet, yams, and cotton. A loom nearly similar to that used in England was busily plied; while the women were spinning, or dyeing the cloths with their fine indigo. These African dames also went from town to town bearing large burdens on their heads,—an employment shared by the numerous wives of the King of Eyeo; their majesties being in no respect distinguished from the humblest of their countrywomen. Amid these occupations, they exercised their powers of speech with such incessant perseverance as to confirm the captain in what appears to have been with him an old maxim, that no power on earth, not even African despotism, can silence a woman's tongue; yet, as this loquacity seems to have been always exerted in kindness, he need not, we think, have groaned quite so heavily under its influence.

Wives of the
king of Eyeo.

Agreeable
reception.

The Englishmen were agreeably surprised by the reception which they experienced during this journey. In Houssa they had laboured under the most dire proscription as Caffres, enemies of the prophet, and foredoomed to hell; and, as black is there the standard of beauty, their colour was considered by the ladies a deep leprous deformity, detracting from every quality that might otherwise have been agreeable in their persons. With the negro and pagan Eyeos there was no religious enmity; and having understood, by reports from the coast, the vast superiority of Europeans in arts and wealth, this people viewed them almost as beings of a higher order. A rumour had also spread that they came to do good, and to make peace wherever there was war.

Absence of
religious
enmity.

On entering the towns they were immediately encircled by thousands, desirous to see white men, and testifying respect,—the males by taking off their caps, the women by bending on their knees and one elbow. In some places singing and dancing were kept up through the whole night in celebration of their arrival.

CHAP. XIII.

Curiosity and respectful conduct

The mission had now to cross a range of hills about eighty miles broad, said to reach the whole way from behind Ashantee to Benin. The highest pinnacle, indeed, was not supposed to exceed 2500 feet, which is a good deal lower than Skiddaw ; but its passes were extremely narrow and rugged, hemmed in by gigantic blocks of granite 600 or 700 feet in height, sometimes fearfully overhanging the road. The valley varied in breadth from 100 yards to half a mile ; but every level spot along the foot of these mountains, or amid their cliffs, was covered with fine crops of yams, millet, and cotton. A large population thus filled those Alpine recesses, all animated with the most friendly spirit. Parties met the travellers on the road, or were stationed on the rocks above, which echoed with choral songs and sounds of welcome. After ascending hill after hill they came to Chaki, a large and populous town, on the very summit of the ridge. Here the *caboceer* had a house and a large stock of provisions ready for them : he put many questions, and earnestly pressed them to stay two or three days.

Range of hill country.

Friendly spirit of the natives.

Having descended to the plain, and passed through a number of other towns, the party came to Tshow, where a *caboceer* arrived from the King of Yarriba, with a numerous train of attendants on foot and horseback. This chief having shaken hands with them, immediately rubbed his whole body, that the blessing of their touch might be spread all over him. His people kept up through the night a constant tumult,—singing, drumming, dancing, and firing ; and, claiming free quarters, they devoured such a quantity of provisions, that the travellers fared worse than in any other place. Next morning they set out with a crowded escort of bowmen on foot, and of horsemen ill mounted but active, dressed

Messenger from the king of Yarriba.

CHAP. XIII. in the most grotesque manner, and covered with charms.
 Distant view From the brow of a hill, the great capital of Eyeo opened
 of the capital. to the view, on the opposite side of a vast plain bordered
 by a ridge of granite hills, and surrounded by a brilliant
 belt of verdure. On reaching the gate, they entered the
 house of a caboceer, till notice was sent to the king, who
 immediately invited them to his palace. They had five
 miles to march through this spacious metropolis, during
 Great extent which the multitude collected was so immense, and raised
 of the city. such a cloud of dust, that they must have stopped short,
 had not their escort, by a gentle but steady application
 of the whip and the cane, opened a way, and finally
 cleared a space in front of the throne. The monarch was
 sitting under a veranda, dressed in two long cotton tobes,
 and ornamented with three strings of glass beads, and a
 pasteboard crown covered with blue cotton, which had
 been procured from the coast. The Englishmen, instead
 of the usual prostration, merely took off their hats, bowed,
 and presented their hands, which the king lifted up
 Reception by three times, calling out, "Ako? ako?" (How do you do?)
 the king. His wives behind, drawn up in a dense body, which
 the travellers vainly attempted to number, raised loud
 cheers, and smiled in the most gracious manner. After
 an interview of half an hour, the chief eunuch showed
 the party to commodious lodgings, where a good dinner
 was prepared. In the evening they were surprised by a
 visit from his majesty in plain patriarchal style, with a
 long staff in his hand, saying that he could not sleep
 without again inquiring after them.

Great popu-
 lation.

Eyeo, or Katunga, is fifteen miles in circumference,
 and supplied by seven large markets; but there are
 many open fields and spaces in this wide circuit, and
 hence the number of inhabitants could not be even con-
 jectured. The population of the country must be very
 great, the whole being under cultivation, and the towns
 large and numerous. The government, in theory, is most
 despotic; hence the greatest chiefs, when they approach
 the sovereign, throw themselves on the ground, lie flat
 on their faces, and heap sand or dust upon their heads;

and the same degrading homage is paid to the nobles by their inferiors. Yet the administration seems mild and paternal ; no instances of wanton cruelty were observed ; and the flourishing state of the people showed clearly the absence of all severe oppression. The horrid and bloody customs, which produce such dark scenes in Ashantee and Dahomey, were mentioned here with detestation. At the death of his majesty, only a few of his principal ministers and favourite wives take poison in parrots' eggs, that they may accompany and serve him in the invisible world. The first question asked by every caboceer and great man was, how many wives the King of England had, being prepared, it should seem, to measure his greatness by that standard ; but when told that he had only one, they gave themselves up to a long and ungovernable fit of laughter, followed by expressions of astonishment how he could possibly exist in that destitute condition. The monarch of Yarriba could boast, that his wives, linked hand in hand, would reach entirely across the kingdom. Queens, however, in Africa are applied to various uses of which Europeans have little idea. For example, some of them formed a band of bodyguards ; while others were observed in every part of the kingdom acting as porters, and bearing on their heads enormous burdens. Hence they might more properly be called slaves than queens.

CHAP. XIII.

Evidences of mild paternal government.

Favour for polygamy.

The Eyeos, like other nations purely negro, are wholly unacquainted with letters or any form of writing ; these are known only to the Arabs or Fellatas, who penetrate thither in small numbers. Yet they have a large stock of popular poetry, and every great man has bands of singers of both sexes, who constantly attend him, and loudly celebrate his achievements in extemporary verses. The convivial meetings of the people, even their labours and journeys, are cheered by songs composed for the occasion, and chanted often with considerable taste. Their houses, though mere clay cottages, are studiously adorned with carving ; the door-posts, and every piece of furniture, being covered with well-executed representations of war-

Ignorance of letters.

CHAP. XIII.

Amusing
public per-
formance.

The white
devil.

Negotiations
for advancing
to Houssa.

Disturbed
state of the
country.

like processions, or of the movements of huge serpents seizing their prey. They have also public performances, which do not indeed deserve the name of dramatic, as they consist of simple mimicry and buffoonery. The first act of a piece witnessed by the strangers exhibited men dancing in sacks, who performed their parts to admiration. One of the bags opened, and thence issued the boa constrictor fourteen feet long, covered with cotton cloth coloured and striped so as to resemble the original. Though rather full in the belly, it presented very nearly the form, and imitated well the actions, of that huge animal. The mouth was opened wide, probably by two hands, to devour a warrior armed with a sword, who had come forth to contend with this formidable creature, and who struck it with repeated blows till it writhed in agony and finally expired. Lastly, out of another sack came the white devil, a meagre, shivering figure, so painted as to represent a European. It took snuff, rubbed its hands, and attempted, in the most awkward manner, to walk on its naked feet. The audience, amid shouts of laughter, called the particular attention of the captain to this performance; which being really good, he deemed it advisable to join in the mirth.

As soon as Clapperton was fixed at Eyeo, he began to negotiate in regard to the means of advancing into Houssa, anxious to pass through that country and reach Bornou before the rains set in. The king had professed a determination to serve him in every shape; but this proved to be the very thing in which he was least inclined to fulfil his promise. As every African prince seeks to make a monopoly of the strangers who enter his territory, it was hinted that one journey was well employed in seeing the kingdom of Yarriba and visiting its great monarch. The captain having pleaded the positive command of his sovereign, was then informed that the direct route through Nyffe was much disturbed by civil war, the inroad of the Fellatas, and the insurrection of a great body of Houssa slaves,—reports suspected at the time to be fabricated merely to detain the travellers.

but which were afterwards found to be correct. The king, who absolutely refused permission to proceed to Rakah, though situated on the Niger at the distance of only three days' journey, undertook to convey them to Houssa by a safer, though somewhat circuitous route, through the kingdom of Borgoo.

CHAP. XIII.

Circuitous
route dic-
tated.

After passing a number of smaller places, the mission arrived at Kiama, capital of a district of the same name, and containing 30,000 inhabitants. Kiama, Wawa, Niki, and Boussa, are provinces composing the kingdom of Borgoo, all subject in a certain sense to the sovereign of Boussa; but the different cities plunder and make war on each other without the slightest regard to the supreme authority. The people of Kiama, and of Borgoo in general, have the reputation of being the greatest thieves and robbers in all Africa,—a character which nothing in their actual conduct appeared to confirm. Clapperton was well received at the former; and the king soon visited him with the most singular train ever seen by a European, namely, six young girls, who, without any apparel except a fillet on the forehead and a string of beads round the waist, and carrying each three light spears, ran by the side of his horse, keeping pace with it at full gallop. "Their light form, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground, made them appear something more than mortal." When his majesty entered, the young ladies laid down their spears, put a blue cloth round their waists, and attended on him. But on his taking leave, they discarded their attire; he mounted his horse, "and away," says the captain, "went the most extraordinary cavalcade I ever saw in my life." Our countryman was visited by the principal queen, who had lost her youth and charms; but a good deal of flirtation passed between him and the eldest daughter, who, however, being twenty-five, was considered in Africa as already on the wane. Yarro, the king, was extremely accommodating, and no difficulty was found in proceeding onward to Wawa.

Arrival at the
capital of
Kiama.Royal female
attendants.Visit by the
Queen.

This is a large city, containing, it is said, 18,000 in-

CHAP. XIII.

Visit to the
town of
Wawa.

Troublesome
female atten-
tions.

Address of a
native widow.

Visit by Clap-
perton to her.

habitants, who are enriched by the passage of the Houssa caravans. They spend the wealth thus acquired in dissolute pleasure, and have been denounced by our traveller as the most complete set of roaring toppers he ever knew. Festivities were usually prolonged till near morning, and the town resounded the whole night with the song, the dance, the castanet, and the Arabian guitar. The Wawa ladies paid a very particular and rather troublesome attention to the English party. The captain complains of being pestered by the governor's daughter, who came several times a-day, always half-tipsy, painted and bedizened in the highest style of African finery, to make love to him; and on meeting only with cold excuses, she departed usually in a flood of tears. But the most persevering suit was that made by Zuma, an Arab widow, possessor of a thousand slaves, and the second personage in Wawa. Being turned of twenty, she was considered as past her bloom, and a too ample indulgence in the luxuries which her wealth afforded had enlarged her dimensions till they might be justly likened to those of a huge water-cask; yet she had still some beauty, and, being only of a deep-brown complexion, considered herself fair, and was in the most eager search after a white husband. In this pursuit she cast her eyes first upon the servant, to whom our traveller hesitates not to assign the palm of good looks in preference to himself; and he gave Lander full permission to follow his fortune. But that sage person, unmoved by all her charms and possessions, repelled her advances in so decided a manner that the widow soon perceived there was nothing to be made of him. She then withdrew her artillery from this quarter, and directed it entirely against his master, to whom she laid very close siege. At length, in a frolic, he agreed to visit her. He found her surrounded by every circumstance of African pomp, seated cross-legged on a piece of Turkey carpet, with an English pewter mug for her goora-pot, and dressed in a rich striped silk and cotton robe of country manufacture. Her eyebrows were dyed black, her hair blue, her hands

and feet red ; necklaces and girdles of beads, coral, and gold, profusely adorned her person. She made a display of additional finery lodged in her repositories, leading him through a series of apartments, one of which was ornamented with a number of pewter dishes and bright brass pans. After these preliminaries, she at once declared her wish to accompany him on his journey, and proposed to send forthwith for a *malem*, or holy man, to read the *futha*, by which their fates would be indissolubly united. Clapperton, who seems to have been completely stunned by this proposal, stammered out the best apology he could, and hastened away. His conduct, however, does not appear to have been so decisive as to deter the lady from the most energetic perseverance in her suit. She even obtained his permission for his servant Pascoe to accept a wife from among her slaves ; but he was not aware that, according to African ideas, she had thus acquired a sort of claim to himself.

CHAP. XIII.

Display of
her wealth.Persevering
assiduity of
Zuma.

Regardless of all these tender solicitations, our traveller had no sooner completed his arrangements than he set out for the Niger, leaving directions for his baggage to join him at the ferry of Comie, while he went round by Boussa. We shall follow him at present to the former place, where he did not find his packages, but learned that the widow, having placed them under arrest, had left Wawa with drums beating and a numerous train, and moreover, that she claimed a full right to his person, as his servant Pascoe had accepted a wife at her hand. It was whispered, besides, that she was meditating to supplant the governor,—a scheme which, aided by the personal bravery of the strangers, she might probably realize,—and that she afterwards meant to invite the Englishman to ascend the throne of Wawa. “It would have been a fine end to my journey indeed,” says he, “if I had deposed old Mohammed, and set up for myself, with a walking tun-butt for a queen!” Scarcely had he received this account when a present from the widow intimated her arrival in a neighbouring village. The captain, however, insensible to all the brilliant hopes

Departure
for the Niger.Ambitious
schemes of
Zuma.

CHAP. XIII. thus opened, set off full speed for Wawa to recover his property. On his arrival the governor refused to liberate it till Zuma's return ; the other in vain protesting that his movements and hers had no sort of connexion. However, next day, the sound of drums was heard, and the lady made her entry in full pomp, astride on a very fine horse, with housings of scarlet cloth, trimmed with lace. The large circumference of her own person was invested in a red silk mantle, red trousers, and morocco boots ; and numerous spells, sewed variously in coloured leather, were hung all round her. She was followed by a train of armed attendants, and preceded by a drummer decked in ostrich-feathers. On the whole, the scene was so splendid, that our hero's resolution seems for a moment to have wavered ; but, nevertheless, his part was soon taken. Pascoe was directed to return his wife, and thus extinguish all claim that could be founded upon her ; and having received his baggage our countryman set forward without admitting the fond widow to any farther conference.

Arrest of
Clapperton's
property.

Return of
Zuma.

Scene of
Park's death.

Native ideas
with refer-
ence to the
English.

On his way to Comic, he had visited Boussa, a place chiefly interesting as the scene where the career of Park terminated in a manner so tragical. Every thing tended to confirm the report of Amadi Fatouma, and to dispel the scepticism with which it had been originally regarded. The king, however, and all the citizens, spoke of the event with deep grief and reluctance, and disavowed all personal concern in it. One man assigned as the reason of the attack, that the party had been mistaken for the advanced guard of the Fellatas, who were then ravaging Soudan. It was added that a number of natives died in consequence, as was imagined, of eating the meat found in the boats, which was supposed to be human flesh. That the English have no abode but on the sea, and that they eat the bodies of the negroes whom they purchase, are, it seems, two ideas widely prevalent over Africa. Even the sovereign himself could scarcely be brought to believe that they had a spot of land to dwell upon. The captain and his followers were, notwithstanding, received

with the same kindness and cordiality which they had experienced ever since they entered the country. Seven boats were waiting for them, sent by the Sultan of Youri, with a letter, in which he earnestly solicited a visit, and promised, on that condition, and on that only, to deliver up the books and papers of Park. Our traveller could not reconcile it with his plans to go to Youri at this time, proposing to visit it on his return, which, as will appear, never took place.

CHAP. XIII.

Continued
kind recep-
tion.

Immediately after crossing the Niger, he entered Nyffe, a country which had been always reported to him as the finest, most industrious, and most flourishing in Africa; but he found it, as indeed he had been forewarned by the King of Yarriba, a prey to the most desolating civil war. The succession being disputed between two princes, one of them called in the Fellatas, and, by giving up his country to their ruthless fury, obtained the privilege of reigning over its ruins. The captain, in his journey to the *sansan* or camp, saw only wasted towns, plantations choked with weeds, and a few remnants of a miserable population. This African station consisted of a number of huts like bee-hives, arranged in streets, with men weaving, women spinning, markets at every green tree, holy men counting their beads, and dissolute slaves engaged in drinking; so that, but for the number of horses and armed men, and the drums beating, it might have been mistaken for a populous village.

Desolations
of civil war.Ruined
towns and
plantations.

Amid this desolation, two towns, Koofu and Kufu, being walled and situated on the high road of the Houssa caravans, had protected themselves in some measure from the common calamity, and were still flourishing seats of trade. All the merchants halted for some time at Koofu, and those from Bornou seldom went any farther. The market was crowded with the same articles as that of Kano; the Moslem religion was the most prevalent; but it had not yet moulded society into the usual gloomy monotony; nor had it succeeded in secluding or subjecting the female sex, who, on the contrary, were the most active agents in every mercantile transaction. Clapper-

Koofu and
Kufu.

CHAP. XIII. ton knew twenty-one female brokers who lived at the same time in one house, and went about continually from market to market. Many had amassed considerable wealth, and were persons of great consequence,—entirely in their own right. Elated with this distinction, they claimed considerable latitude as to their deportment, and spent whole nights with the men in singing and drinking,—a species of indulgence very prevalent in all these entrepôts of African trade. The English, however, experienced here none of the bigoted enmity encountered in other Moslem cities. On the contrary, they were the objects of much kindness; the principal people of the place sent presents, and the lower ranks sought to obtain a sight of them by mounting the trees which overlooked their residence. The Koran does not seem to have much embarrassed the Koolfuans. Their only mode of studying it was, to have the characters written with a black substance on a piece of board, then to wash them off, and drink the mixture; and when asked what spiritual benefit could be derived from the mere swallowing of dirty water, they indignantly retorted, “What! do you call the name of God dirty water?” This mode of imbibing sacred truth is indeed extensively pursued throughout the interior of the African continent.

General
kindness to
the English.

States of Kotongkoro and Guari. The captain passed next through Kotongkora and Guari, two states which, united in a league with Cubbi and Youri, had shaken off the yoke of the Fellatas. Guari, strongly situated among hills, could, it was said, bring 1000 horse into the field. He then entered Zegzeg, a Fellata country, which, especially around Zaria, its capital, is one of the finest in all Africa. Beautifully variegated with hill and dale, like the most romantic parts of England, it was covered with plentiful crops and rich pastures, and produced, besides, the best rice grown in any portion of that continent. Rows of tall trees, resembling gigantic avenues of poplar, extended from hill to hill. Zaria, like many other African cities, might be considered as a district of country surrounded with walls. When the traveller entered he saw for some time only

Fine country
around Zaria.

fields of grain, with the tops of houses rising behind them ; still such was its extent, that the population was said to exceed that of Kano, and to amount to at least 50,000. CHAP. XIII.

Setting out from Zaria, he soon reached his old quarters at Kano ; but he unfortunately found that great city in a state of dreadful agitation. There was war on every side ; hostilities had been declared between the King of Bornou and the Fellatas ; the provinces of Zamfra and Goober were in open insurrection ; the Tuaricks threatened an inroad ; in short, there was not a quarter to which the merchants durst send a caravan. This town, being nearly midway between Bornou and Sackatoo, he left his baggage there to be conveyed to the former on his return, and set out for the capital of Bello, bearing only the presents destined for that prince. On his way he found numerous bands mustering to form an army to attack Coonia, the rebellious metropolis of Goober. The appearance of the troops was very striking as they passed along the margin of some beautiful little lakes formed by the river Zirmie. These waters were bordered by forests of flowering acacias, with dark-green leaves, the shadows of which were reflected on the smooth surface of the lake like sheets of burnished gold and silver. " The smoking fires, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, every where the calls on the names of Mohammed, Abda, Mustapha, with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping, green, and woody banks."

At length the army mustered, to the number of at least 50,000 or 60,000, chiefly on foot ; a rude feudal host, arranging themselves according to their provinces and chiefs, without any military order. In a short time, they formed a dense circle round the walls of Coonia. Clapperton expected soon to see some brilliant exploit performed by the united movement of this great force, commanded by the Sultan and Gadado in person. The whole, however, both horse and foot, kept carefully

CHAP. XIII. beyond the reach of the arrows, which, with a sure and steady aim the enemy directed against them. From time to time indeed a doughty warrior, well covered with armour, rode up, calling, "Shields to the wall! Why don't you come on?" but he instantly and quickly rode back, amid the derisive shouts of his countrymen. The only parties who exposed themselves to real danger were a few chiefs, in quilted armour, ornamented with gaudy robes and ostrich plumes, and of such weight that two men were required to lift them on horseback: several of them were brought down by the fire of one well-directed musquet from the walls. Evening closed without any thing being effected by this band of heroes; and during the hours of darkness, an alarm being raised of a sally from the garrison, the whole besieging army began a tumultuous flight, tumbling over each other and upsetting every thing in their way, thinking only how they might soonest escape from danger. The retreat was continued the whole of the following day and night, no halt taking place till ten of the second morning. Thus closed this memorable campaign.

Timidity of
the troops.

Abrupt
retreat of
the army.

Unfavourable
reception at
Sackatoo.

Jealousy of
the English.

Clapperton, at the sultan's suggestion, repaired to Sackatoo (which he now calls Soccattoo); the monarch himself remaining behind at Magaria, a neighbouring town, which he was raising into a new capital. The traveller's time was spent between the two places. He found, however, an entire change in the feelings of kindness and cordiality towards himself, which had been so remarkably displayed in the former journey. Jealousies had begun to fester in the breasts of the African princes. They dreaded some ambitious design in those repeated missions sent by England without any conceivable motive; for, that men should undertake such long journeys out of mere curiosity, they could never imagine. The sultan accordingly had received a letter from the court of Bornou, warning him that, by this very mode of sending embassies and presents, which the English were now following towards the states of Central Africa, they had made themselves masters of India, and trampled on all

its native princes. The writer, therefore, gave it as his opinion that Clapperton should immediately be put to death. An alarm had, in fact, been spread throughout Sackatoo that the English were coming to invade Houssa. The panic was entirely groundless, as no European potentate would at present dream of attempting to conquer those vast and almost inaccessible regions. However, with the imperfect knowledge possessed by the chiefs, and the facts before them relative to India, it was very natural for them to entertain such apprehensions. The sultan, irritated, doubtless, at the shameful result of his grand expedition against Coonia, felt also another and more pressing fear. War had just broken out between himself and the King of Bornou; the traveller was on his way to visit that prince, and had left six muskets at Kano, supposed to be intended as a present to him; a supply which, in Central Africa, where the whole Fellata empire could scarcely muster forty, was almost enough to turn the scale between these two great military powers. Under the impulse of such feelings, Bello proceeded to steps unworthy of a prince and a man of honour: he demanded a sight of the letter which his guest was conveying to the King of Bornou; and when this was refused, he forthwith seized it by violence. Lander was induced by false pretences to bring the baggage from Kano to Sackatoo, when forcible possession was taken of the six muskets. The captain loudly exclaimed against these proceedings, declaring them to amount to the basest robbery, to a breach of all faith, and to be the worst actions of which any man could be guilty. Such language was rather too strong to be used to a sovereign, especially to one who could at any moment have cut off his head; and the minister even dropped hints as if matters might come to that issue, though, in point of fact, the government did not proceed to any personal outrage. But, from other causes, the career of this spirited and hitherto successful discoverer was now drawing to a close.

His strong constitution and vigour of mind had till this period enabled him to resist all the baneful influences of

CHAP. XIII.

Threats of
death to
Clapperton.

Unworthy
proceedings
of Bello.

Strong re-
monstrances.

CHAP. XIII. an African climate. He had recovered, though perhaps not completely, from the effects of the rash exposure which had proved fatal to his two companions ; but, being overcome with heat and fatigue, when hunting at Magaria, he had lain down on a damp spot in the open air, and was soon after seized with dysentery, which continued to assume more alarming symptoms. Indeed, after the seizure of the letter to the Sultan of Bornou, he was never seen to smile, and in his sleep was heard addressing loud reproaches to the Arabs. Unable to rise from bed, and deserted by all his African friends, who saw him no longer a favourite at court, he was watched with tender care by his faithful servant Richard Lander, who devoted his whole time to attendance on his sick master. At length he called him to his bedside, and said, " Richard, I shall shortly be no more,—I feel myself dying." Almost choked with grief, Lander replied, " God forbid, my dear master,—you will live many years yet." But the other rejoined, " Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you : it is the will of the Almighty ; it cannot be helped." He then gave particular directions as to the disposal of his papers, and of all that remained of his property ; to which strict attention was promised. " He then," says Lander, " took my hand within his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said in a low, and deeply-affecting tone, ' My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago ; I can only thank you with my latest breath for your kindness and attachment to me ; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want ; but God will reward you.' " He survived some days, and appeared even to rally a little ; but one morning Lander was alarmed by a peculiar rattling sound in his throat, and, hastening to his couch, found him sitting up, and staring wildly around ; he laid his head gently on the dying man's shoulder ; some indistinct words quivered on his lips ; he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh.

Fatal illness
of Clapper-
ton

Attention of
Lander.

Death of
Clapperton.

Bello seems to have repented in some degree of his harsh conduct, especially after news arrived of a great victory gained by his troops over the Sultan of Bornou. He allowed Lander to perform the funeral obsequies with every mark of respect. He also supplied him with the means of returning home, allowing him to choose his road, though advising him to prefer that by the Great Desert ; but having already had too many dealings with the Arabs, he made choice of the track through the negro countries.

CHAP. XIII
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Returning
favour of
Bello.

On his arrival at Kano, Lander, comparing all his impressions on the subject with the information he had already acquired, formed the spirited design of attempting alone to resolve the great question respecting the termination of the Niger, which he hoped to effect by proceeding to Fundah. In order to reach that city, he travelled due south, through a country diversified with rising ground, but still presenting a fertile and luxuriant aspect. He was told, however, that at some distance in the same direction he would come to a very mountainous region, inhabited by a savage people called Yemyems. These are probably the Lamlam of Edrisi, reported to be devourers of human flesh, and said to have lately killed and eaten a whole caravan ; since which time no one had been much inclined to go near them. The chief place through which Lander passed was Cut-tup, composed of 500 little villages, clustered together, and forming the market for a very great extent of country. The king's wives were vastly delighted to receive one or two gilt buttons from the traveller's jacket ; and, imagining them to be pure gold, fastened them to their ears. From hence he proceeded to Dunrora, where he was informed that about half a day's journey eastward was the large city of Jacoba, near which flowed the Shary, in a continuous course between the T'chad and Fundah ; which last place lay now due west. Here he promised himself the satisfaction, in ten or twelve days, of removing all doubts as to the course of the Joliba, when suddenly four horsemen, mounted on foaming steeds,

Bold project
of Lander.

Description
of native
cannibals.

Journey
eastward.

CHAP. XIII.

Recal of
Lander by
the king of
Zegzeg.

Inquiries
after Clap-
perton.

Proposed ex-
pedition of
Major Laing.

Departure
from Tripoli.

Assault of
Tuaricks.

galloped into the town. Their leader, followed by an immense multitude, rode up, and told him that he must instantly return to the King of Zegzeg. Lander endeavoured to argue the point, but could get no answer, except that they must either bring him with them or lose their heads. He was therefore compelled to repair to Zaria, the capital, where, being introduced to the king, and having delivered his presents, that prince boasted of having done him the greatest possible favour, since the people of Fundah, being now at war with Sultan Bello, would certainly have murdered any one who had visited and carried gifts to that monarch. From this reasoning, sound or otherwise, the stranger had no appeal, and was obliged to make his way back by his former path. In all the places through which he passed, anxious inquiries were made about "his father," as the people called his master; and when they heard of his death, they raised loud lamentations. He reached Badagry on the 21st November 1827; but, being detained some time there and at Cape Coast Castle, did not arrive in England till the 30th April 1828.

The British government were still indefatigable in their exertions to explore every region of Africa. At the time when Clapperton proceeded on his second expedition, Major Laing, who had distinguished himself in the Ashantee war, and in the short excursion already mentioned towards the source of the Niger, undertook to penetrate to Timbuctoo, which, from the first era of modern discovery, has been regarded as the most prominent city of Central Africa. Tripoli was again chosen as the starting point, whence he directed his steps south-westward, across the Desert by Ghadamis. He set out under the protection of Sheik Babani, who had resided twenty-two years at Timbuctoo, and was now governor of Ghadamis; but in the midst of the wilderness, sixteen days after leaving Tuat, a band of ferocious Tuaricks surprised the cafila while the major was in bed, and having inflicted twenty-four wounds, eight of them with a sabre, left him for dead. Through the care of his com-

panions, however, he made a surprising recovery, numerous portions of bone having been extracted from his head and temples. After some farther delays, he reached Timbuctoo on the 18th August 1826, and remained there more than a month. Several letters were received from him dated at that celebrated city, respecting which he stated that, except in point of extent, which did not exceed the circuit of four miles, it had completely answered his expectation; that he had found its records copious and interesting; and had collected ample materials for correcting and improving the geography of this part of Africa. But his departure was hastened by the following circumstance:—Labo, or Bello, sultan of Masina, having obtained the supremacy over that capital, sent a letter to Osman, the governor, with instructions that the Christian, who, he understood, was expected there, should be forthwith expelled in such a manner as to deter him from ever attempting to return. Laing, thus obliged to retreat, made an arrangement with Barbooshi, a Moorish merchant, to accompany and protect him in the route by Sego to the coast, which he had determined to follow. Three days after leaving Timbuctoo, when the caravan was in the heart of the Desert, this wretch, instigated by the basest avarice, murdered, in the night-time, the individual he had undertaken to guard, taking possession of all his effects. Yet his papers, it appears, were carried to Timbuctoo; nay, the Quarterly Review produced strong reasons for believing that they were actually conveyed back to Tripoli, and that it was owing to the vilest treachery, in persons from whom it might least have been apprehended, that they were not forwarded to the British government.

Another journey was now announced, which, in the first instance, strongly excited the public expectation. The French *savans* proclaimed throughout Europe, that M. Caillié, their countryman, animated by the hope of a prize offered by the Society of Geography, had penetrated across Africa from Sierra Leone to Morocco, having passed through Jenne and Timbuctoo, those two great

CHAP. XIII.

Surprising recovery.

Letters from Timbuctoo.

Expulsion from the town.

His murder by Barbooshi

French expedition announced.

CHAP. XIII. seats of commerce which our travellers had sought so long to reach, and whence none had ever returned. This adventurer, rewarded with a pension and the cross of the Legion of Honour, was immediately classed with the first of modern discoverers. But these extravagant pretensions, contrasted with the defects of the narrative itself when laid before the public, gave rise in high quarters to a doubt whether there was any reality whatever in this expedition, and whether M. Caillié was not another Damberger. On a careful examination of circumstances we are inclined to believe the general accuracy of his account. For example, there seems good authority for admitting his departure from Sierra Leone; for his having announced the intention to undertake this journey; and, lastly, for his arrival at Rabat in Morocco, in a condition of great distress. His statement, too, with all its defects, bears an aspect of simplicity and good faith, and contains various minute details, including undesigned coincidences with facts ascertained from other quarters. His false reports of celestial phenomena might arise from his ignorance of such subjects; while his inaccuracies in regard to Major Laing might proceed from the defective intelligence on which he depended. Perhaps these last form rather a presumption in his favour, since, in composing a forgery, he would probably have brought his statements into a studious agreement with those of the English journal named above, the only authentic source of information respecting the proceedings of that unfortunate traveller.

Suspicious
regarding
M. Caillié.

Credibility of
his narrative.

Defective
intelligence.

Additions to
previous
knowledge.

Though disposed, on these grounds, to consider Caillié's expedition as real, we regard it nevertheless as having made only a limited addition to our knowledge of Interior Africa. English travellers had already explored the country to within a limited distance on each side of Timbuctoo, had traced the Niger far beyond that city, and had ascertained its position in respect to the surrounding regions. The object now was, to obtain a description of the town by an intelligent and learned traveller, which the Frenchman is not. He certainly

deserves commendation for his enterprise ; but fortune had denied him education, and nature has not bestowed upon him any ample share of reflection or judgment. Nevertheless it was impossible to pass through such extensive and remarkable countries without gleaning some valuable information, of which we shall now endeavour to extract the most important particulars.

CHAP. XIII.
Want of fit
qualifica-
tions.

René Caillié was born in 1800, of poor parents, at Mauzé, in the department of the Deux Sévres. The reading of voyages and travels, and especially of Robinson Crusoe, inspired him, he tells us, with such an unconquerable thirst for adventure as took away all relish for the sports and occupations of his age. After some opposition from his friends, he was permitted to follow his inclination ; and having obtained a sight of certain maps of Africa, the vast spaces left vacant, or marked as unknown, excited in his mind a deep interest. In 1816, he sailed from Rochefort for the Senegal ; and a short time after his arrival, having learned the departure of Major Gray's expedition for the interior, he resolved to join it, and actually proceeded on foot for that purpose ; but the fatigue of walking over loose sand under a burning sun overpowered him, and he was happy to obtain a water-conveyance to Goree. He even left Africa, but returned in the end of 1818. Finding at St Louis a party setting out with supplies for Gray, he joined them, and arrived at Bondou, though only in time to witness and share in the failure of that attempt.

Parentage of
Rene Caillie.

Departure
for the
Senegal.

His health having suffered severely from the fatigues of this journey, he returned and spent some years in France ; nor was it till 1824 that he proceeded once more to the Senegal, and resumed his schemes of discovery. With the aid of M. Roger, the governor, he passed nearly a year among the tribe of Moors called Braknas, and conceived himself to have acquired such a knowledge of the manners and religion of that race as would fit him for travelling in the character of a Mohammedan convert on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Having retraced his steps to St Louis, he solicited from two successive governors the sum

Return to
France.

CHAP. XIII.

Unsuccessful
applications
for money.

of 6000 francs, with which he undertook to reach Timbuctoo. A deaf ear being turned to his application, he next repaired to Sierra Leone, and made the same request to General Turner and Sir Neil Campbell; but these officers, could not be expected, without authority from home, to bestow such a sum on a foreigner possessing no very striking qualifications. They received him kindly, however, and gave him appointments out of which he saved about £80; when, stimulated by the prize of 1000 francs, offered by the French Society of Geography to any individual who should succeed in reaching Timbuctoo, he formed the resolution to undertake this arduous journey with only such resources as the slender sum in his possession could command.

Departure
from Ka-
kundy.

On the 19th April 1827, he set out from Kakundy in company with a small caravan of Mandingoes. His route lay through the centre of the kingdom of Foota Jallo, in a line intermediate between its two capitals of Teemboo and Laby. This was a very elevated district, watered by the infant streams of the Senegal and Niger, which descend from a still higher region farther south; and he found the road difficult, being not only steep, rocky, and traversed by numerous ravines and torrents, but often obstructed by dense forests. It presented, however, many highly-picturesque views; while the copious rivulets diffused a rich verdure over extensive tracts, where the Foulahs fed numerous flocks, which, with a little rice, sufficed for their subsistence. Fruits of various kinds, yams, and other vegetables, are also cultivated with success. Their rude agriculture, however, is conducted chiefly by slaves, who are in general well treated, living in villages by themselves, and having two days in the week to provide for their own subsistence. Caillié, like other writers, describes the Foulahs as a fine and handsome people, attached to a pastoral life, but at the same time fond of war, and excessively bigoted in religion.

Fine appear-
ance of the
country.

Crossing the
Ba Fing.

In his route through Foota Jallo, he crossed the Ba Fing, not far from its source, where it was still fordable, though it already rolled a rapid and foaming stream

about 100 paces broad, and is said to form a very striking cataract, at a little distance above. About 100 miles farther on, in the territory of Kankan, near the village of Couroussa, he came to the Niger, where it presents itself as a considerable river, eight or ten feet deep, and running at the rate of more than two miles an hour.

Kankan is described as an interesting place, with about 6000 inhabitants, surrounded by a beautiful quickset-hedge, answering the purpose of a wall for defence. The market, held thrice a-week, is well supplied, not only with the native commodities of cloth, honey, wax, cotton, provisions, cattle, and gold from the neighbouring district of Bouré, but also with European articles brought from the coast, among which the chief are fire-arms, powder, calicoes, amber, beads, and coral. The adjoining country is at once fertile and highly cultivated; and the Milo, a tributary to the Niger, runs close by the town. To the north is the province of Bouré, which our author represents as more abundant in the precious metal than any other in this part of Africa. Here, as in the districts visited by Park, this substance is entirely alluvial, embedded in a species of earth, whence it is separated by agitation in water.

Caillié remained more than a month at that town before he could find a caravan to guide him through Ouassoulo, a fine country diversified by numerous little villages surrounded by fields neatly laid out and highly cultivated. The people are industrious, mild, humane, hospitable, and, though pagans, feel no enmity towards their Mohammedan neighbours. The women weave a fine cotton cloth, which is exported to all the surrounding districts; yet there was a want of that cleanliness, which, in Kankan, had formed a pleasing feature. Beyond this province is the town of Sambatikila, the inhabitants of which live in voluntary poverty, bestowing little trouble on the cultivation of the ground, which they allege distracts them from the study of the Koran,—a statement justly derided as only a specious cloak for indolence. The traveller came next to Timé, situated in a terri-

CHAP. XIII.
Reaching the Niger.

Description
of Kankan.

Caillié.

Inhabitants
of Kankan.

CHAP. XIII. tory fertile and profusely irrigated, yielding abundantly various fruits and vegetables, which are scarce or unknown on the coast. Among these were the shea or butter-tree, and the kolla or goora nuts, which are esteemed a great luxury, and conveyed in large quantities into the interior. The victuals, however, were found insipid, owing to the almost total absence of salt, which can only be procured by the wealthy; nor could the Frenchman at all relish the plan of seasoning food by a sauce extracted from the flesh of mice.

Fertile district of country.

Detention by illness.

He was detained at Timé upwards of five months by a severe illness. On the 9th January 1828, he joined a caravan for Jenne, and proceeded through a district generally well cultivated, and containing a number of considerable villages, till, on the 10th March, he came in view, near the village of Cougalia, of the Niger, which appeared to him only about 500 feet broad, but very deep, flowing gently through a flat and open country. The caravan sailed across it, and, after travelling six miles, and passing, by rather deep fords, two smaller branches, they entered the city of Jenne, one of the most celebrated in the interior of Africa, and which had never before been visited by a European.

City of Jenne.

It is described by Caillié as situated at the eastern extremity of a branch of the Niger separating below Sego from the main current, with which, after passing the former town, it again unites. This delineation seems doubtful; for such a branch, had it existed, would probably have been observed by Park, who, on the contrary, describes the river which passes Jenne as a separate stream, tributary to the Niger. The Arabic term, translated by us *island*, is of very vague import, being familiarly applied to a peninsula, and even to a space wholly or partially enclosed by river-branches. The country around, as far as the eye could reach, formed only a naked marshy plain, interspersed with a few clumps of trees and bushes. The city was two miles and a half in circuit, surrounded by a wall of earth; the houses, rather well built, are composed of sun-dried bricks, two stories high, without

A rabic name of island.

windows in front, but lighted from inner courts. The streets are too narrow for carriages, being only of such breadth that seven or eight persons may walk abreast. The population is reckoned by M. Caillié at 8000 or 10,000; but upon this subject we suspect he has formed his estimate rather too low. The inhabitants consist of various African tribes, attracted by the extensive commerce of which it is the centre. The four principal classes are the Foulahs, Mandingoes, Bambaras, and Moors, of whom the first are the most numerous, and are bigoted Mohammedans, compelling the pagan Bambaras who resort thither to conform to the rules of the Koran during their temporary residence. The trade is chiefly in the hands of thirty or forty Moorish merchants, who often unite in partnership, and maintain a communication with Timbuctoo in barks of considerable size. The negroes also carry on business, but on a much smaller scale, and chiefly in native articles. The markets are filled with the productions of the surrounding country, either for consumption or exportation,—cloth, grain, fruits, kolla-nuts, meat, fish, gold from Bouré, and, unhappily, with numerous slaves, who are paraded through the streets, and offered at a rate varying from 35,000 to 40,000 cowries each. These commodities draw in return from Timbuctoo, salt, Indian cloths, fire-arms, beads, toys, and all the variety of European articles. The traffickers of Jenne were found more polished in their manners than any African nation with whom the stranger had yet held intercourse: they were extremely hospitable, entertaining him at free quarters during his whole stay; but he considers them as having driven an exceedingly hard bargain for his goods. The mode of living, even of the most wealthy, was extremely simple. Their houses contained scarcely any furniture; and their clothes were deposited in a large leathern bag, generally suspended from the roof. The chief entertainment to which he was invited consisted merely of a huge fragment of a sheep stewed in onions, and, as usual, eaten with the fingers,—four cups of tea concluding the repast.

CHAP. XIII.

Houses and streets.

Moorish merchants.

Markets for native produce and slaves.

Simple mode of living.

CHAP. XII.

Embarkation
on the Joliba.

On the 23d March, the traveller left Jenne, near which he embarked on the Joliba, which was there half a mile broad, in a vessel of sixty tons burden, but of very slight construction, and bound together with cords. Such barks, impelled without sails, and deeply laden, cannot proceed with safety when the waters are agitated by a brisk gale; therefore much time is consumed in the voyage. Upon landing he passed first through the country of Banan, which presented a surface flat and monotonous, but abounding in flocks and herds. On the 2d April, the river opened into the great Lake Dobbie, here called Debo, in sailing across which, notwithstanding its magnitude, land was lost sight of in no direction except the west, where the water appeared to extend indefinitely like an ocean. Three islands, observed at different points, were, not very happily, named St Charles, Maria Theresa, and Henri, after three individuals who the author little suspected would so soon be exiled from France.

Lake Debo.

Country of
the Foulahs.

After quitting this lake, the Niger flowed through a country thinly occupied by Foulah shepherds, and by some tents of the rude Tuaricks. On the 19th April, he arrived at Cabra, the port of Timbuctoo, consisting of a row of houses composed of earth and straw, extending about half a mile on the bank of the river. The inhabitants, estimated at about 1200, are entirely employed in lading and unlading the numerous barks which touch at the quay.

Entrance of
Timbuctoo.

In the evening of the 20th April, attended by some companions, he rode from Cabra, and entered Timbuctoo, which he calls Temboctou. He describes himself as struck with an extraordinary and joyful emotion at the view of this mysterious city, so long the object of curiosity to the civilized nations of Europe. The scene, however, presented little of that grandeur and wealth with which the name has been associated. It comprised only a heap of ill-built earthen houses, all around which were spread immense plains of moving sand of a yellowish white colour, and parched in the extreme. "The horizon is of a pale red,—all is gloomy in nature,—the deepest silence reigns,—not the song of a single bird is heard;"

and yet there was something imposing in the view of a CHAP. XIII.
great city, thus raised amid sands and deserts by the
mere power of commerce.

Although M. Caillié resided above a fortnight in Tim-
buctoo his information respecting it is very defective. Defective
information
relative to
Timbuctoo.
It appears, except in point of situation, to be nearly such a
city as Jenne, consisting of large houses, chiefly tenanted
by Moorish merchants, intermingled with conical straw-
huts occupied by negroes. The author has given a *croquis*,
or sketch of part of the city, which, though very deficient
in perspective, is yet so curious as to merit a place in
this publication. There are seven mosques, of which the
principal one is very extensive, having three galleries,
each 200 feet long, with a tower upwards of fifty feet
high. One part, apparently more ancient than the rest,
and now becoming a ruin, exhibited a style of architec-
ture decidedly superior to the modern buildings.

Timbuctoo is entirely supported by commerce. It is Commerce of
Timbuctoo.
the depôt of the salt conveyed from the mines of Taudeny,
and also of the European goods brought by the caravans
from Morocco, as well as by those from Tunis and Tripoli,
which proceed by way of Ghadamis. These goods are
embarked for Jenne, to be exchanged for the gold, slaves,
and provisions, with which that city exclusively supplies
Timbuctoo, the neighbourhood being almost a complete
desert. The population is estimated at 10,000 or 12,000,
which, not being in proportion to a town three miles in
circumference, is probably underrated. The people are
chiefly negroes of the Kissour tribe, but bigoted Moham-
medans. There appeared less bustle and activity than
at Jenne,—a circumstance not very easily accounted for.
Osman, the king, was an agreeable-looking person of The king
Osman.
fifty-five, to whom the traveller was introduced, without
being aware that he was only viceroy, or at least tributary,
to the Sultan of Masina. The country is much harassed
by the wandering tribe of Tuaricks, who, like the Be-
douins in Arabia, levy a regular tax on the caravans.*

* The map constructed by M. Jomard, upon Caillié's routes, changes greatly the position of Timbuctoo, especially in respect

CHAP. XIII.

—
Journey to
Aroan.

Trade in
light goods.

He left Timbuctoo on the 4th May, and after a journey of six days arrived at Aroan, which he found rather a well-built town with 3000 inhabitants, supported solely by the passage of the caravans from Barbary, and from the salt-mines of Taudeny, which usually halt here before and after passing the Desert to the northward. The environs of this place are of the most desolate aspect, and all its provisions are drawn from Jenne by way of Timbuctoo. The neighbourhood does not afford an herb or a shrub, and the only fuel consists of the dried dung of camels. The springs, which alone render it habitable, are abundant, but of bad quality. It nevertheless carries on a considerable trade in light goods directly with Sansanding and Yamina. Walet was mentioned as a great emporium, situated to the west-south-west, in a position somewhat different from that assigned by Park; but the statements in both cases are very vague, and we do not see the slightest ground for M. Jomard's conjecture that there are two Walets.

Disputed
longitude of
Timbuctoo.

to longitude, which it places four degrees to the westward of the site assigned by Major Rennell. It seems impossible, however, to admit an alteration to this extent, which would throw Sego so far westward as to render Park's bearings from Jarra to Sego, and from Sego to Bammakoo, completely erroneous. Besides, it appears to us that M. Jomard has forced to the westward all the positions between Jenne and Timbuctoo, in a manner quite unwarranted by M. Caillie's own descriptions. This excess becomes manifest in the line from Galia to the mouth of the Debo, thirty-five miles of which are stated to run north-east, without a single movement in a contrary direction; yet M. Jomard has manœuvred to make the last position the most *westerly* of the two. If the route from Jenne to Timbuctoo lies as much to the northward as M. Caillie represents, where, indeed, he in some measure agrees with the delineation of D'Anville, it must be somewhat farther west than our maps place it, but not nearly so far as M. Jomard fixes it. In regard to the observation of latitude attempted by the traveller, M. Jomard's claims are very moderate, since he merely argues that, in the absence of any other, this is not wholly to be neglected; yet even this seems too much, when he at the same time admits that all the observations made by him in a similar manner are of no value whatever. Under these circumstances, we conceive that it would be premature to change, in our map, the position of Timbuctoo from that formerly fixed by Major Rennell.

Our traveller departed from Aroan on the 19th May, in company with a caravan of 120 camels, laden with the productions of Soudan; and he had now the prospect of crossing a desert of ten days' extent, in which there was scarcely a drop of water. "Before us appeared a horizon without bounds, in which our eyes distinguished only an immense plain of burning sand, enveloped by a sky on fire. At this spectacle the camels raised long cries, and the slaves mournfully lifted their eyes to heaven." M. Caillié, however, departed in high spirits, animated by the idea of being the first European who should, from the southern side, have crossed this sandy ocean. But his tone of feeling was soon lowered when he came to experience the sufferings arising from the intense heat, the blowing of the sand, and the scanty supply of water, which was served out only twice a-day, leaving long intervals, during which the most tormenting thirst was endured. Some small wells, from which they had hoped for a little aid, were found dry; so that both men and animals were reduced to the last extremity, when they reached the copious springs of Telig, and relieved their thirst by repeated draughts.

CHAP. XIII.

Departure
across the
desert.Great suffer-
ings endured.

During many succeeding marches, water again became scarce, and he had besides much to suffer from the insult and neglect of his companions. El Drah, on the outer frontier of Morocco, was the first inhabited district; but it was poor, and occupied by inhospitable tribes of Moors and Berebbers. Turning somewhat eastward, they passed through the fine country of Tafilet, covered with noble woods of date-trees, and producing a valuable breed of sheep. After undergoing the labour of crossing a rugged defile of Mount Atlas, they proceeded to Fez, whence the adventurer found his way, though in a somewhat poor plight, to Tangier. He arrived on the 18th August 1828, and M. Delaporte, the vice-consul, received and forwarded him to France.

Insults and
inhospitality.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Landers' Discovery of the Termination of the Niger.

Expedition undertaken by Richard and John Lander—Arrival at Cape Coast—At Badagry—Annoyances there—Journey to Eyeo—The royal Wives—Yarriban Females—Superstitions—Human Sacrifices—The Fellatas—Alorie—Journey to Kiama—Aspect of the Country and People—Journey to Boussa—Reception—The Widow Zuma—Voyage up the Niger to Youri—Interviews with the King—Description of Youri—King's Daughters—Return to Boussa—Journey to Wawa—Final Residence at Boussa—Disposal of Goods—Late Changes in Central Africa—Attempts to recover Park's Journal—Voyage to Patashie—Lever—Disappointment respecting a Canoe—Bajiebo—Aspect of the Niger—Belee—King of the Dark Water—Zagoshi—Rabba—The Coodoonia—Egga—Dangers to be apprehended in going down the River—Kacunda—Dreadful Alarm at Bœqua—Reconciliation—Damuggoo—Good Reception—Kirree—They are attacked and plundered—Obtain some Redress—Conveyed to Eboe—Negotiation for Ransom—King Boy—Voyage to Brass Town—Richard Lander conveyed to an English Ship—Behaviour of Captain Lake—Boy's Return—John Lander conveyed to the Vessel—Arrival at Fernando Po—Supposed Fate of Lake—Pirates—Voyage to England—Range of the Thermometer at different Points—General Result of this Expedition.

CHAP. XIV.

Results of
Denham and
Clapperton's
journeys.

THE journeys of Denham and Clapperton made a great accession to our knowledge of Interior Africa. These travellers completed a diagonal section from Tripoli to the Gulf of Benin; they explored numerous kingdoms, either altogether unknown, or indicated only by the most imperfect rumour. New mountains, lakes, and

rivers, had been discovered and delineated; yet the course of the Niger remained wrapt in mystery nearly as deep as ever. Its stream had been traced very little lower than Boussa, which Park had reached, and where his career was brought to a fatal termination. Again, the unhappy issue of Clapperton's last attempt chilled for a time the zeal for African discovery; but that high spirit of adventure which animates Britons was soon found acting powerfully in a quarter where there was least reason to expect it. The narrative of the journey just mentioned proved that Richard Lander possessed the warmest fidelity, joined to an intelligence above his rank in life. Partaking of the ardour that inspired his master, he endeavoured, in his return towards the coast, to follow a direction which, but for unforeseen circumstances, would have issued in solving the grand problem. After reaching England he still cherished the same spirit; and, undeterred by the recollection of so much peril and hardship, tendered his services to make one effort more, in order to reach the mouth of this mysterious river. His offer was accepted, though on terms which make it abundantly evident that the enterprise was not undertaken from any mercenary impulse. As a compensation for again encountering the peril of death or captivity, he was to be furnished with only such a sum of money and other supplies as were absolutely necessary for his journey; his wife was to receive a moderate aliment during his absence; and himself, on coming home, was to be rewarded with a gratuity of one hundred pounds. His brother John, in compliance with his own earnest wish, was permitted to accompany him, but without the stipulation of any recompense whatever.

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Unsolved
mystery of
the Nile.Qualifica-
tions of
Richard
Lander.New expedi-
tion ar-
ranged.Joined by his
brother.Reception at
Cape Coast
Castle.

The two brothers sailed from Portsmouth on the 9th January 1830, in the *Alert*, which had on board Mr Maclean, president of the council at Cape Coast Castle. They reached that settlement on the 22d February, and mention in the highest terms the hospitable reception experienced there, as well as at Anamaboe from Mr Hutchinson, a gentleman who had been engaged in the

CHAP. XIV. first mission to Ashantee. "His silken banners, his turreted castle, his devoted vassals, his hospitality, and even his very solitariness," reminded them of an old English baron in the feudal times. At Cape Coast, Richard engaged his former friend Pascoe, who proved a most valuable assistant to the party. They were afterwards joined by Antonio, son to the chief of Bonny, who justly calculated, that by descending the Great River he would reach his native city.

Establish-
ment at
Anamaboe.

Reception at
Accra. They sailed from Cape Coast for Accra, which they quitted on the 15th March, and landed on the 22d at Badagry. Their dress, a huge straw hat with scarlet tobe and Turkish trousers, excited bursts of laughter among the inhabitants, whose behaviour, however, was other-

Introduction
to king
Adooley.

wise friendly and respectful. They were introduced next morning to Adooley the king, who received them with extreme apathy and coldness, of which they complain grievously, but which were afterwards sufficiently explained. The fortunes of this personage had been singular. A younger son to the ruler of Lagos, he had been encouraged by his father's nomination, and the support of a powerful party, to advance pretensions to the sovereignty, though to the exclusion of an elder brother; but the people, attached to the rights of primogeniture, drove him out with his adherents, and he arrived a fugitive at Badagry, conveying in a cage his aged mother, and the skull of his other parent. The people here were so edified by his behaviour, and by these marks of filial piety, that they adopted him for their chief, and repulsed all the attacks made by his enemies. Adooley was thus encouraged to undertake a war against Lagos, but the result was unfortunate; his troops were defeated, and his bravest generals either slain, or taken and condemned to the most cruel death. These disasters, joined to an explosion of gunpowder which had destroyed his most valuable effects, including those received from Captain Clapperton, were urged in excuse of his present depression. Rousing himself, however, from his apathy, he made a complete survey of the contents of the travellers'

Singular
grounds of
native
favour.

boxes, selecting various objects which had struck his fancy. He afterwards made a demand for a number of presents, including four regimental coats like those worn by the King of England, forty less splendid, fifty muskets, twenty barrels of gunpowder, two puncheons of rum, two puncheons of cowries, and a variety of other commodities. The Landers, thinking some deception allowable, gave a note to be sent to Cape Coast Castle for these articles, though with the full conviction that the government there would by no means accede to claims so extravagant.

CHAP. XIV.
—
Extravagant
demands of
Adooley.

The adventurers suffered extreme annoyance during their abode at Badagry from the crowds, who made the most noisy protestations of their regard, hoping to procure presents, or at least a glass of rum. Their situation obliged them to receive with apparent cordiality these unwelcome courtesies, the recollection of which haunted their dreams, and rendered their slumbers restless.

Extreme
annoyance at
Badagry.

Badagry is a more considerable place than was supposed, being divided into four districts, each governed by a chief who assumes the title of king. It is situated in a fertile plain, watered by a broad river resembling a still and beautiful lake. The soil, composed of loam or clay covered with a fine whitish sand, is exceedingly productive, especially in yams, Indian corn, and fruits, while fish is abundantly supplied from the neighbouring stream. The travellers, in walking from their residence to that of the chief, a distance of a mile and a half, met at every step dealers in various commodities; so that, if the purchasers bore any proportion to the sellers, the population must be immense; but no precise estimate could be formed on this subject.

Extent of the
country.

In proceeding to Eyeo, the party followed the route formerly pursued by Clapperton, with a few variations, which did not bring them into contact with any new place of importance except Bohoo, a very extensive city, and the capital of the kingdom till the reigning sovereign, about half a century ago, transferred his residence to the present metropolis. It has since declined, though still

Bohoo, an
extensive
city.

CHAP. XIV.
Fine country.

large and flourishing, being situated in the midst of as fine a country as the best parts of England. Numerous Fellatas in this neighbourhood pursue with success their pastoral occupations.

Beauty and
richness of
the scenery.

The scenery around was beautiful in a high degree. The woods exhaled a delicious fragrance, and were filled with myriads of brilliantly tinted butterflies. The land was also fertile and tolerably well cultivated. No implement, it is true, was employed in agriculture except the hoe ; but, from the lightness and softness of the soil it appeared to be doubtful whether the plough would not be a mere encouragement to sloth. The conveniences of life, however, are not commensurate with these natural advantages. The houses, as in the most unimproved negro countries, are miserable hovels, often in the shape of beehives, having their floors overspread with cow-dung, and being placed several of them together in a

Mean native
dwellings.

court-yard, enclosed by a wall of earth. The dwellings of persons of rank are distinguished by little more than the number of courts and huts, each of which is tenanted by one of the king's officers, or of his wives with their families. An active commerce is carried on, not by wagons or even on the backs of animals, but on the heads of men and women, chiefly the latter. Our travellers were astonished at the enormous burdens borne by them as well as by mere children ; not seeming to be aware that this is the way in which, provided the weight be duly poised, the greatest strength of the body can be

Wives of the
king.

exerted. The royal wives, whose multitude and active occupations have been formerly commemorated, are exempted from tolls ; being distinguished by a peculiar cloth wrapped round their goods, which no other female is allowed to use under a severe penalty. Turnpikes are said to be nearly as common as in England : but this expression conveys an erroneous idea, for the sums levied are evidently mere local duties, no part of which is expended upon the roads. These are usually formed by the simple pressure of the foot : no care is taken even to lay a tree over the pools and marshy spots so as to

afford a dry passage ; while ant-hills rise unmolested in the middle of the narrowest path. CHAP. XIV

The active part taken by females in business and society did not contribute to the comfort of our travellers. Lander expresses in still more doleful terms than Clapperton the exquisite suffering produced by the loud and incessant clatter of their tongues, which he verily believes nothing but sickness or death could silence. Yet as this talk consisted only of clamorous gossip or turbulent mirth, and where it assumed the form of scolding was not directed against him, it does not appear why it should have caused so much inconvenience. However, the places appropriated to the reception of travellers, consisting of huts crowded within a court-yard, brought the parties into very close proximity ; and while the female voices rose high above every other, there was an under-accompaniment of squalling brats, of goats, sheep, and other animals, which prevented them from enjoying the necessary rest. This noisy merriment was often alternated with deep sounds of lamentation, continued almost for whole nights ; though the rapid transitions from sorrow to joy seemed to indicate that the former sentiment was not very agonizing. Indeed a native, to whom Lander mentioned his distress at witnessing one of these scenes of wo, coolly replied, "What matter ? they laugh directly." But, unquestionably, his mode of relieving himself from the presence of these African ladies, by squirting water in their faces from a syringe, was very uncourteous.

Female
activity in
business.

Constant
sources of
disturbance.

Superstition in this country assumes a still darker form than we could have imagined ; and we find that the travellers hastened from Badagry to avoid the dreadful spectacle of the sacrifice of 300 human victims. The principal officers and governors are bound to accompany the king to the other world ; and accordingly, even in the bloom of youth and vigour, they often held their lives on the frail tenure of that of an old man about to step into the grave. On the death of a great chief his favourite wives are doomed to follow him, being either poisoned or beaten to death with the club of the fetish priest. If this

Dark forms
of supersti-
tion.

CHAP. XIV.
 Terror of the
 suttee.

sacrifice was ever voluntary, it has now entirely ceased to be so. The ladies in particular shrink with extreme dismay from the idea of parting with life. On the demise of the Viceroy of Jenna, two of his wives hid themselves ; but one was discovered and obliged to consent to swallow poison. She fell into frightful agonies when she saw her grave digging, and preparations making for the wake at her funeral ; while her slaves, who called her mother, abandoned their labours and yielded to the most poignant affliction. The leading people of the town came in large bands, beating their breasts and tearing their hair in lamentation for her approaching fate. When the travellers left the place, there was understood to be a disposition in some powerful quarters to save her ; though great fears were entertained that such a departure from an ancient and venerated custom would excite an insurrection among the inhabitants.

The Fellatas
 of Yariba.

The Fellatas have penetrated in great numbers into Yariba, and are gradually becoming masters of that country in defiance of the feeble resistance of the native sovereign. They had established themselves at Alorie, about three days' journey to the south-west of Eyeo, which, by the influx of fresh bodies of the invaders, as well as of Yarriban slaves and other malecontents, has become a larger city than the capital. Lander afterwards, when in Nyffe, heard them boast that " they could conquer the whole world if the salt water did not prevent them."

Great superiority
 of the
 race.

They are a race decidedly superior to those whom they are supplanting ; active, intelligent, and, unless in the heat of warfare, even mild and humane. Our countryman in particular was as much pleased with the deportment of the Fellata females as he had been disgusted and harassed by that of the royal ladies of Yarriba. Their dress is arranged with taste ; their hair is braided with peculiar neatness ; and their manners, artless and simple, almost realize the idea of the poetical shepherdess. Their conversation, at once modest, respectful, and kindly, proved a recreation in the midst of troubles, and leave-taking was sometimes attended with considerable regret.

The travellers were, as before, well received at Eyeo, though the negotiation with Ebo, the fat eunuch, was not conducted without difficulty. Lander had been judiciously directed to proceed by the shortest route to the Niger, which is distant only about forty miles from this town, and by no means to delay his progress by going to Youri (which he now calls Yaoorie), though his brother John might if expedient be sent thither. The minister, however, expressed his opinion that this proposal would be viewed with jealousy by the king. Hereupon Richard rather hastily gave up the original plan, and merely requested aid to forward himself and his relative to Youri. He thus made an additional circuit of more than 300 miles, and thereby greatly increased the difficulties and perils of his journey.

Having left Eyeo, and passed through the large frontier town of Keeshee, the travellers found themselves in a region altogether different from that level and fertile plain over which they had hitherto journeyed. The surface became abrupt and rugged, covered with vast forests, through which range the lion, the leopard, and other fierce and destructive animals. The danger from these, however, was small in comparison of that apprehended from large bands of robbers who infested this tract, and at the first sight of whom the natives of Yarriba were accustomed to take flight. Once an armed party of twenty suddenly appeared from behind the trees, when the caravan gave themselves up for lost; but upon Lander levelling his loaded gun they retreated precipitately into the forest. In the heart of this wild region, the passage of the small rivulet of Moussa brought them into Kiama, a territory which differs completely from Yarriba both in its aspect and population. Though presenting some fertile spots, it is much diversified with mountain, forest, and waste. The people are proud, courageous, spirited, delighting in martial exercises, and warm both in their attachments and resentments. The king professes the Mohammedan religion; yet his attachment to pagan rites is still displayed by numerous

CHAP. XIV

Reception at
Eyeo.Change of
country.Apprehen-
sion from
robbers.Courage and
spirit of the
natives.

CHAP. XIV **uncouth figures, which, as fetishes or guardian powers,**
 Native horse-
 race. **are stationed at the entrance and along the walls of his**
house. The most striking spectacle viewed in the city
was that of a horse-race immediately following one of
their solemn festivals. The numerous spectators dis-
played extraordinary animation, and made a striking
appearance as they were assembling beneath the shade
of magnificent trees. Many of the females had at great
 Female
 costume. **cost adorned themselves in coarse Manchester cloths, and**
bed-furniture of the most glaring and gaudy patterns ;
being moreover loaded with bracelets, strings of beads
hung from the neck, and rings round the ankle. The
horses also were gaily caparisoned, with clusters of brass
bells on their heads, pieces of red cloth, silk and cotton
tassels, and little charms in coloured cases attached to the
bridles. On the signal to start, " the riders brandished
their spears, the little boys flourished their cows' tails,
the buffoons performed their antics, and muskets were
discharged.—The sun shone gloriously on the tobes of
green, white, yellow, blue, and crimson, as they fluttered
in the breeze ; and with the fanciful caps, the glittering
spears, the jingling of the horses' bells, the animated
looks and warlike bearing of their riders, presented one
of the most extraordinary and pleasing sights that we
have ever witnessed."

Friendly re-
 ception by
 the king. **The king gave them a good reception in his palace,**
or rather hut, on the floor of which arms were piled ;
while the walls were adorned with good prints of George
the Fourth, the Duke of York, Duke of Wellington,
and Lord Nelson. Though he managed to detain them
longer than they desired, he made no actual opposition
to their journey, but prevailed upon them not to go to
Boussa by way of Wawa (which our travellers now call
Wowow), with whose chief he was then at enmity.
They proceeded over a hilly country, and through the
towns of Kakafungi, Coobly, and Zalee, till, on the 17th
June, they arrived at Boussa.

The party were immediately introduced to the king,
and to the midiki or queen, from both of whom they

experienced the most cordial reception. Their majesties even professed to have been weeping in the morning over the death of Captain Clapperton, though their eyes bore no symptoms of this sorrowful occupation. Next day the illustrious pair were delighted beyond measure by being presented with a looking-glass. They afterwards waited on the travellers in very humble attire, and without the least ceremony. Some regret was at first expressed that no coral was included among the presents; but a few plated buttons newly scoured soon engrossed their attention, and gave rise to a long and eager struggle. The king secured the largest and best, yet contrived to persuade the midiki to be content with what fell to her lot. "The royal couple were like two great children."

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King and
queen of
Boussa.

The travellers met here with their friend the widow Zuma, who waited upon them very plainly dressed, and related a most doleful tale. She had openly quarrelled with the chief of Wawa, and being worsted, was obliged to climb over the city wall, and flee on foot to Boussa, a task which her dimensions rendered most laborious. She farther complained of being now reduced to extreme poverty; but under all these mishaps, her person had been augmented in so extraordinary a measure, that it was with great difficulty she could introduce herself through the spacious doorway of the hut. Pascoe entered into a long negotiation with her to recover the value of a wife for whom, he alleged, he had paid half the price in the former journey, though no delivery had taken place. This demand does not appear altogether in accordance with Clapperton's statement, namely, that the woman was freely bestowed, and returned on account of the claim to himself as her husband which the widow chose to found upon her gift: the debt, in short, could not be established.

Meeting with
the widow
Zuma.Demand of
Pascoe.

Lander, notwithstanding his kind reception at Boussa, had on very slender grounds conceived the idea that the king would view with jealousy his design of sailing down the Niger. He therefore asked merely to be conveyed to Youri, pretending that his main object was to proceed

Supposed
jealousy of
the king.

CHAP. XIV.

Fortunate
results of the
voyage to
Youri.

Native
indolence.

Entrance to
Youri.

Mean ap-
pearance of
the sultan.

thence to Bornou. His majesty readily consented; and this voyage, whether wise or not, had the fortunate effect of adding considerably to our knowledge of Interior Africa. The river from Boussa to that city is broken into numerous channels by rocks and sand-banks, which rendered the passage often difficult, and sometimes dangerous for the larger class of vessels. The shores, however, when at all level, were thickly studded with villages. A little below Youri all the obstructions disappeared; and the travellers were assured that the upper part of the river was entirely navigable. Their progress was however retarded by the laziness, under the semblance of mock respect, shown by the master, or, as he is called, King of the Canoe, who excused his leisurely movements by telling them, that "white men are more precious than a boat-load of eggs, and require as much care to be taken of them:" and when urged to be more active, he remarked, "kings do not travel so fast as common men; I must convey you along as slowly as possible."

They landed at a village, and after walking eight miles entered Youri, which they found to be defended by strong gates composed of wood rudely strengthened with plates of iron. They soon obtained an introduction to the prince, whom they had been so desirous to visit. After passing through a low dark avenue, and being kept long standing in a yard, they were conducted into another area, resembling that of a farm establishment. Here "we discovered the sultan sitting alone in the centre of the square on a piece of plain carpeting, with a pillow on each side of him, and a neat brass pan in front. His appearance was not only mean, but absolutely squalid and dirty. He is a big-headed, corpulent, and jolly-looking man, well stricken in years; and though there is something harsh and forbidding in his countenance, yet he was generally smiling during the conference." He showed considerable dissatisfaction because neither Clapperton nor Lander had paid their court to him on their previous journey, and still more on being

informed that the means of making a present had been reduced very low by the rapacity of the chiefs already visited. In regard to Park's papers, he merely replied with an affected laugh, "How do you think that I could have the books of a person that was lost at Boussa?"

CHAP. XIV

Inquiries
regarding
Park's
papers.

Afterwards, being pressed upon the subject, he despatched an Arab to inform them, that "he declared to God, in the most solemn manner, that he had never had in his possession, nor seen, any books or papers of the white travellers that perished at Boussa." Thus it appears, that his proposal to Clapperton, by which the present travellers had been so unguardedly lured, was a mere pretext to induce the Captain to visit him, and bestow a portion of the valuable articles with which he was understood to be amply provided. His whole conduct was in perfect unison with this first specimen of it; for though he did not absolutely rob them, there was no artifice even the most petty which he did not employ in order to obtain the few commodities that still remained in their possession. Wishing to purchase some things, he induced our countrymen to send them, desiring that they should affix their own price; then said they asked too much; on which pretext he delayed and in a great measure evaded paying for them at all. In their ill-judged confidence in his friendship, they requested him to furnish a boat, in which they might descend the Niger. He replied, they might have one for a hundred dollars; but, being unable to command that sum, they were finally obliged to apply to their friend the King of Boussa, whom they had so unreasonably distrusted, and who cheerfully undertook to supply their want.

Mean arti-
fices of the
sultan.

Youri is a large city, and surrounded by a very fertile country. It is twenty or thirty miles in circumference, encompassed with a high and strong wall, which, however, as is usual in Africa, encloses a large extent of cultivated fields. The soil is moist, producing great quantities of indigo, cotton, wheat, and particularly of rice. A superabundant population was indicated by the complaints of poverty, which, notwithstanding the fruit-

Youri and
the surround-
ing country.

CHAP. XIV. fulness of the land, were every where heard. The people, being numerous and warlike, had baffled every attempt of the Fellatas, by whom all the neighbouring kingdoms were overrun. Their wars, however, like those of other Africans, were not sanguinary, since in a recent and obstinate contest the slain did not exceed half a dozen on each side.

Character of the people. Native visitors. Such of the inhabitants as could find any pretext waited in crowds upon the strangers, both to gratify their curiosity and in the hope of obtaining presents. In particular the king's daughters, a numerous offspring, held themselves privileged visitors. They seldom came unprovided with a supply of booza or beer, with which they contrived to get themselves tipsy. The travellers uncourteously designate them "a parcel of noisy women;" and having employed in vain other means to shorten their visit, had recourse to the plan of frightening them away by a discharge of pistols. Loud complaints, it appears, were raised by the more antique members of this illustrious house, respecting a preference alleged to have been shown for the society of the more youthful part of the sisterhood. This charge caused a schism in the royal family which was not likely to be soon healed.

Pretexts for detention at Youri. Although his majesty had consented to the departure of his visitors, he delayed it on various prettexts, some of which were extremely ridiculous. He sent a bundle of ostrich-feathers as a present for the King of England; but deeming, he said, the supply too small, besought them to await a fresh growth, to promote which he had smeared the animal copiously with butter. At the same time Lander from different quarters received accounts of the rapacious manner in which he had treated several strangers who had visited Youri, and began to apprehend that he would not allow them to depart till he had deprived them of all they possessed. Happily their friend the sovereign of Boussa transmitted so strong a remonstrance, that in a few days they obtained permission to resume their journey.

The travellers embarked on the Cubbie, a tributary

of the Niger. All the way thither, and along its banks, the country was carefully cultivated by the Cumbrie, a half-servile race, patient, industrious, and suffering much oppression from their lords. Numerous individuals, stationed on platforms raised above the grain, were employed to watch and scare away the birds. About five miles above Boussa the river shows a magnificent body of water seven or eight miles in breadth, and a little farther down it presents the same grand appearance; yet in passing that city it is not more than a stone's throw across, and of proportional depth,—a circumstance which has suggested the idea that a part of its waters may find a passage by subterraneous channels. On arriving at that town, they found it impossible to avoid visiting the King of Wawa, who had been highly dissatisfied because they had not proceeded to his court on the way from Kiama. They were assured they might be supplied by him with a larger boat than could be procured at Boussa. The monarch, however, insisted on making, with the assistance of a devout Mussulman, a solemn inquiry of the “dark water” whether the strangers would reach the sea in safety; and he returned with the intelligence that the Joliba had promised a favourable termination to their voyage.

CHAP. XIV

Embarkation
on the
Cubbie.Favour of
the king of
Wawa.

The Landers now departed for Wawa; but thought the road was frequented, it was all but impassable, full of holes and pits, overgrown with grass reaching often above their heads, soaking them with moisture, and filled with prickly shrubs which tore the clothes and skin. In approaching the city, however, the path became excellent, being the only one in Africa formed with any care. The king afterwards assigned as his reason for keeping the highroads near his capital in good order, that an enemy would be deterred from attacking him, both by the appearance of a numerous population and by this display of activity. Their reception by this prince was good, but singular. On reaching the entrance of the town they fired two pistols, when he came out to meet them; but the messenger from Boussa had not

Impediments
to travel.Singular re-
ception by
the king.

CHAP. XIV. come up, and etiquette did not therefore permit any intercourse. He stood in a niche, "fixed and motionless, with his hands clasped under his tobe, and supported on his bosom ; and round a pole, which had been placed erect in another niche, a naked youth had entwined his legs, remaining in breathless anxiety to be a spectator of the approaching interview. No two beings ever bore a more striking resemblance to statues." At length the expected envoy appeared. The spell was broken ; "yet the grave eccentric old man shook hands with us without taking them from the tobe in which they had been enveloped, or even condescending to look in our faces." However, he afterwards became much more frank, and assured them of the very best canoe that could be procured. Nothing at all remarkable happened during the week spent at this place. On returning to Boussa they expressed the greatest desire to conclude the negotiation about the boat. They had already begun to experience that both themselves and their goods were losing the gloss of novelty. They had taken out a hundred thousand needles ; but besides that this quantity overstocked the market, the manufacturers, who warranted them not to cut in the eye, had secured this property by giving them no eyes at all, and many were returned upon their hands. Metal buttons were in considerable request ; but, being mostly worn, they soon lost the splendour conferred by laborious friction. New shillings, from their brilliancy, were valued almost as highly as old dollars. At length when red cloth, tea-canisters,—every thing showy and glittering had been disposed of, some cases that had contained portable soup found a ready sale in virtue of the tin labels attached to them ; and one of the natives was seen proudly strutting about with the motto "Concentrated gravy" adorning several parts of his head dress. It was therefore not without extreme satisfaction they received notice that the negotiation respecting the canoe was brought to a close ; the midiki having undertaken to manage it with her brother the King of Wawa without any trouble on their part. The

African
etiquette.

Negotiations
for a boat.

Appreciation
of goods.

Novel orna-
ments.

agreement was, that they should give their two horses for a large and sufficient one. This vessel, when produced was found to be too small, and far from corresponding in value to the price exacted ; but they were assured that at Lever, a town some distance down the river, they would find one every way adapted to their purpose.

CHAP. XIV.

—
Canoe
obtained.

Before leaving Boussa, we may collect into one view certain detached notices respecting the more recent political changes in Central Africa. The empire of the Fellatas, which had appeared so firm and united, was falling to pieces on every side. Not only Goober continued its successful resistance ; but Cassina (here strangely metamorphosed into Catsheenhah) had declared itself in favour of Doncassa its ancient prince, who, supported by Bornou, was fast regaining his power. Even the little kingdom of Zegzeg, with its capital Zaria, had raised the standard of revolt. For these disasters Bello endeavoured to find compensation in pursuing conquests to the westward. He was completely master of the fine country of Nyffe, alternately setting up and deposing its princes Magia and Edeersa, while Rabba its largest town was held by Malem Dendo his lieutenant. He was now preparing to cross the Niger and attack Yarriba, the fall of which was anticipated from the supine character of its sovereign and people. Another report was, that the Sultan of Bornou had recovered his power, and thrown into prison the sheik,—whom the last mission had found exercising such uncontrolled sway,—though he afterwards set him at liberty.

Political
changes in
Central
Africa.

Revolt
against the
Fellata
power.

The utmost diligence was employed to discover Park's journals, or any thing belonging to that illustrious discoverer. It was found that the King of Boussa possessed a rich crimson-damask robe loaded with gold embroidery, which he said was purchased by his predecessor from a white man at a period very nearly corresponding to the date of Park's last journey, who there was reason to think had actually worn it. The travellers received this robe as a donation, though they were prevented by

Inquiries
for Park's
journals.

CHAP. XIV. subsequent occurrences from bringing it home. They were particularly solicitous to obtain information concerning the journal; and the king, after being promised a handsome reward, caused strict inquiry to be made of a poor man, who was said to possess a book saved out of the wreck. The volume was produced; but, to the extreme disappointment of all parties, it proved to be a nautical publication of the last century, consisting chiefly of logarithmic tables. Between the leaves were a few loose papers, the most important of which was a card of invitation to Mr Park from a family in the Strand. All inquiries at Youri were fruitless; but at Wawa, one man had really possessed some books even during Captain Clapperton's visit; but that officer not having made any search when there, they were neglected and "fell to pieces." One female was found to have preserved a pillow snatched from the wreck, having within it an iron frame, to which was attached an unintelligible manuscript, seemingly a mere charm. Thus all hope of any important discovery under this head proved abortive.

Relies of
Park.

Disappoint-
ment in the
search.

Departure
from Boussa

On the 20th September 1830, the travellers took a friendly leave of their majesties of Boussa, and set sail. They arrived the same day at Patashie, a large and fertile island, where they obtained an ample supply of provisions. The canoe-arrangement was still very unsatisfactory; but after another journey to Wawa, they were assured that they would find a suitable one at Lever. Accordingly on the 30th they embarked, and in three hours, though the distance was twenty miles, reached that town. But what was their astonishment upon learning that Lever was not under the jurisdiction of the King of Wawa, who had not a canoe there of any description! They had been completely outwitted by these illustrious monarchs, who had obtained from them two horses worth sixty pounds, for which they had given absolutely nothing. "They have played with us," says Lander, "as if we were great dolls; we have been driven about like shuttlecocks." Redress, however, being both tedious and doubtful, they judged it most

Knavery of
the king of
Wawa.

advisable to appropriate two canoes lent them by the chief of Patashie; a painful measure,—for though he was indeed entitled to claim payment from his majesty of Wawa, he had little chance of obtaining it,—and this was a very bad return for his kindness. However, necessity, the tyrant's plea, was here resorted to by the travellers; and these skiffs, though much too small, were taken because no others were to be had.

CHAP. XIV.
—
Appropriation of canoes.

Lever or Layaba, and Bajiebo, two large trading towns, had been shifted from the eastern to the western bank, in order to avoid the Fellatas; yet that race, in peace mild and industrious, but in war the fiercest of marauders, had found their way thither, and kept the inhabitants in perpetual alarm. Still this did not interrupt their thoughtless gayety, or their moonlight songs and dances. Beyond Bajiebo the Niger becomes a noble river, often three miles broad, and “both banks presented the most delightful appearance. They were embellished with mighty trees and elegant shrubs, which were clad in thick and luxuriant foliage, some of lively green, and others of darker hues; and little birds were singing merrily among their branches. Magnificent festoons of creeping plants, always green, hung from the tops of the tallest trees, and, drooping to the water's edge, formed immense natural grottos.” Yet Lander says, “there is something wanting in an African scene to render it comparable in interest and beauty to an English landscape. There are no verdant fields, no hedges adorned with the jessamine, the daisy, the primrose, the blue-bottle, or the violet, and the hundred other pretty wild-flowers, which please the sight, and exhale in spring-time or summer the most grateful and delicious fragrance. Besides, generally speaking, a loneliness, a solemnity, a death-like silence, pervades the noblest and most magnificent prospects.” After passing Leechee, another considerable town, they found the river bordered by ranges of rocky hills, part probably of that great chain which stretches across Central Africa. Their aspect was dark and romantic, covered with stunted trees and shrubs, which,

Layaba and Bajiebo.

Deficiencies of an African landscape.

CHAP. XIV. shooting from the hollows, overhang immense precipices.
 — From the very centre of the stream rises a majestic and
 Mount Kesa. almost perpendicular rock, called Mount Kesa ; its base
 fringed by venerable trees, and its rugged sides covered
 with scanty vegetation. The superstitious natives be-
 lieve it to be the seat of a benevolent genius.

Important
 visitors.

At Belee, on an island, they were visited by Moham-
 med, son to the magia, ruler of Nyffe, whom they had
 seen at Patashie ; also by a messenger from Malem
 Dendo, the chief of Rabba. A still more important per-
 sonage did them the same honour, namely, the “ King
 of the Dark Water,” who was to accompany them to his
 island-domain. His approach was announced by loud
 music, and he soon appeared in a large, neat, ornamented
 canoe, having on board about twenty musicians. This
 prince, a fine-looking old man, with six handsome black
 wives, landed, courteously saluted the travellers, and
 made them some small presents. Soon after, they set
 sail along with him, and reached in safety his insular
 territory of Zagoshi.

The island of
 Zagoshi.

The island now named is a remarkable spot, a sort of
 miniature Holland in the heart of Africa. It is about
 fifteen miles long and three broad, surrounded by the
 Niger, and scarcely rising above the level of its surge.
 The soil is almost a marsh, many of the houses standing
 in water, and a cane applied to the floor of a hut might
 be thrust to any depth. The numerous inhabitants are
 busily employed in manufacturing cotton tobes and
 trousers, as well as caps of mixed silk and cotton, with
 a skill which would not disgrace European workmen.
 Their fabrics attract the admiration of the surrounding
 nations, who vainly attempt to imitate them. Wherever
 the Englishmen walked they saw the natives spinning,
 making wooden dishes, stirrups, hoes, and other instru-
 ments. The river is covered with their canoes, and the
 chief possesses about 600 ; by which force, and their
 peculiar situation, they are secured against attack, and
 exempted from those revolutions which overwhelm the
 adjoining kingdoms. They are hospitable and obliging,

Native manu-
 facturing
 industry.

live in amity with their neighbours, and in friendly intercourse with each other. CHAP. XIV.

Rabba, on the banks of the Niger, about two miles from Zagoshi, is, next to Sackatoo, the largest city in the Fellata dominions. The surrounding country is highly productive, covered not only with rich crops, but with numerous flocks and herds, including peculiarly fine breeds both of horses and cattle. The discoverers did not visit Rabba, their only object being now to descend the river with the utmost despatch ; but it was necessary to obtain the chief's permission to proceed, and their prospects in this respect were at first very gloomy. The presents, which indeed were of slender amount, were rejected with disdain ; and they were obliged with great regret, to part with the rich robe of Mr Park, the presentation of which inspired the utmost delight, and made the king completely their friend. The city
Rabba.

At Zagoshi they were enabled, for a balance of 10,000 cowries, to exchange their two small canoes for one larger, and described as much more commodious ; but here again they were cheated. They took leave on the 16th October of the King of the Dark Water, and were carried down the current at the rate of three or four miles an hour ; so that in the two following days they made upwards of 100 miles in an easterly direction. The Niger was from two to six miles broad ; in some places bordered by low swampy grounds, elsewhere by mountains of considerable height and varied aspect. The party were annoyed by vast crowds of hippopotami tossing about with such violence as threatened to upset their vessel. Having slept on the 18th at a small island called Fofa, they passed next morning a river of considerable size, which they had reason to believe was the Coodoonia formerly crossed by Lander near Cuttup on his way to Dunrora. In a few hours they reached Egga, a town four miles in length and two in breadth ; in front of which, along the shore, were numerous canoes, some so large that, being covered with a shed, they served for the dwelling of the owners. The chief, an aged man of patriarchal appear- Barter of
canoes.

Numbers of
hippopotami.

CHAP. XIV.

Reception by
the chief of
Egga.

Troublesome
curiosity.

Report of the
disturbed
state of the
adjacent
country.

Arrival at
Kacunda.

ance, was found squatted on a cow's hide, smoking a pipe three yards long. He received them with mingled kindness and surprise, telling them "they were strange-looking people, and well worth seeing." Intense curiosity was excited throughout the town, and their hut was blockaded by the whole population; so that the only exercise they could obtain was by walking round and round the floor like wild beasts in a cage. They could not refuse the chief's request to exhibit themselves to all his wives, old and young, with a number of the principal people; and the room was thus so crowded, with the doors and windows blocked up, that their residence became very incommodious. They were first amused, then annoyed by solicitations for charms against war, sickness, crocodiles, to make the citizens rich, and enable them to catch canoe-loads of fish.

Egga was stated to be the last town of Nyffe, and where terminated the more orderly kingdoms and governments in this part of Africa. The travellers were assured, that in descending the river they would find only detached cities, and these at war with each other, addicted to plunder, and barbarous in the extreme; but, animated by the spirit of enterprise, suffering moreover from scarcity of victuals, and considering that "the mountains of the natives generally prove to be no bigger than molehills," they resolved at all events to proceed. Nor was their purpose shaken by the panic which, on returning to the canoes, they found prevailing among their men, who had been assured by the people of the town that if they went down the river they would certainly be murdered or sold as slaves. They therefore demanded their wages, and permission to return to Cape Coast; but, being informed that if they deserted the enterprise they should not receive a farthing, they at length agreed to continue, though not without uttering loud murmurs.

Kacunda, where the party next arrived, did not confirm these alarming descriptions. It was composed of a cluster of three or four villages, inhabited by a mild, inoffensive, and industrious race. The chief received

them with kindness and hospitality ; but he and all the inhabitants gave the same unfavourable account of the tribes occupying the lower banks. They were described as communities of ferocious outlaws, acknowledging no human authority ; so that the traders of Egga never ventured to descend the stream unless in parties of ten or twelve canoes, and even then they found it necessary to pass the towns under cover of night. The travellers, concluding that these representations were prompted by a wish to detain them, in order that the grandees might have full leisure according to the African custom to solicit presents, refused to wait even for canoes which the king offered to send for their protection. While their servants, therefore, were all in tears, the two brothers recommended themselves to the Supreme Disposer of events, and boldly pushed out into the river. Having loaded their muskets, and finding the skiff pass smoothly along, the spirits of the men soon revived. In the evening they found themselves opposite to "a large spreading town, from which issued a great and confused noise as of a multitude quarrelling, or as the waves of the sea rolling upon a rocky beach ;" but this and other towns and villages were carefully avoided. About five in the morning they observed a river three or four miles broad entering the Niger from the eastward. They ascended it for a short space ; but meeting a strong current they became fatigued, and allowed themselves to be carried back. This was evidently the Tchadda, a great tributary stream, which they had before often heard mentioned, particularly at Kacunda. At the junction of these rivers was a large town, which from previous information they understood to be named Cuttumeurrafee, the seat of a very extensive commerce. The banks here were generally high, sometimes mountainous, and the water ran over a rocky bottom, which caused a great rippling on its surface.

The party had sailed from Kacunda about seventy or eighty miles, when feeling fatigued, and their apprehensions being lulled, they landed. On a cleared spot,

CHAP. XIV.

Continued unfavourable reports.

Supposed motives for such representations.

Junction of the Tchadda with the Niger.

First landing.

CHAP. XIV. seemingly laid out for a market or fair, they began to erect an awning, with the view of taking some repose. But news was soon brought, that the men straggling in search of firewood had lighted upon a village where they found only females, who, struck with alarm, ran into the fields to warn the men of the arrival of strangers. So little fear did this inspire, that the people were sent back for yams and a light; and, though they returned with tidings that the women had again fled in the same wild alarm, no dread of attack was entertained. Suddenly one of the sailors called aloud, "War is coming! O war is coming!" Starting up, "we beheld a large party of men almost naked, running in a very irregular manner, and with uncouth gestures, towards our little encampment. They were all variously armed with muskets, bows and arrows, knives, cutlasses, barbs, long spears, and other instruments of destruction." Very uneasy sensations were inspired by the sight of "this band of wild men with their ferocious looks and hostile appearance." They advanced rapidly in such numbers as to afford scarcely any hope of a successful conflict. It was therefore determined to approach and accost them in a pacific manner,—a step which required no common coolness and courage. "Throwing down our pistols, which we had snatched up in the first moment of surprise, my brother and I walked very composedly and unarmed towards the chief. As we approached him, we made all the signs and motions we could with our arms, to deter him and his people from firing on us. His quiver was dangling at his side, his bow was bent, and an arrow, which was pointed at our breasts, already trembled on the string, when we were within a few yards of his person. This was a highly critical moment,—the next might be our last. But the hand of Providence averted the blow; for just as the chief was about to pull the fatal cord, a man that was nearest him rushed forward and stayed his arm. At that instant we stood before him, and immediately held forth our hands,—all of them trembled like aspen leaves,—the chief looked up full in

Sudden
alarm.

Imminent
danger.

Courage and
coolness of
the travellers

Critical
position.

our faces, kneeling on the ground,—light seemed to flash from his dark rolling eyes,—his body was convulsed all over as though he were enduring the utmost torture,—and with a timorous yet undefinable expression of countenance, in which all the passions of our nature were strangely blended, he drooped his head, eagerly grasped our proffered hands, and burst into tears. This was a sign of friendship; harmony followed, and war and bloodshed were thought of no more. Peace and friendship now reigned among us.” The armed men who surrounded the leader showed extreme satisfaction; “every eye sparkled with pleasure,—they uttered a shout of joy,—they thrust their bloodless arrows into their quivers,—they ran about as though they were possessed of evil spirits,—they twanged their bowstrings, fired off their muskets, shook their spears, clattered their quivers, danced, put their bodies into all manner of ridiculous positions, laughed, cried, and sung, in rapid succession,—they were like a troop of maniacs.” An old man who understood the Houssa language having undertaken the office of interpreter, told them that the chief, on hearing a number of strange people speaking an unknown language had arrived at the market-place, concluded them to be enemies come with the intention of making a night attack on the city, and carrying off the inhabitants as slaves: that he advanced breathing vengeance and slaughter; but when he saw them approach unarmed, observed their white faces, and finally their hands extended towards him, he felt a strange emotion, and believed them to be children of heaven dropped down from the skies. “And now,” said he, “white men, all I want is your forgiveness.” This was granted with a cordial shake of the hand, and the travellers uttered an inward thanksgiving for their preservation. “We were grateful to find that our blood had not been shed, and that we had been prevented from spilling the blood of others.—It was a narrow escape; in another minute our bodies would have been as full of arrows as a porcupine’s is full of quills.” During this eventful transaction Pascoe,

CHAP. XIV

Establish-
ment of
friendly
relations.

Explanation
and apolo-
gies.

Friendly
reconcilia-
tion.

CHAP. XIV. whom Clapperton had described as "an African, not the most trusty of his race," completely redeemed his character, and showed the greatest courage, keeping his musket pointed at the chief's breast, ready "to bring him down like a guinea-fowl" had he offered violence to his master; but Sam and Antonio scampered off, and after returning were so terrified as to be for some time unable to speak.

Fidelity and
courage of
of Pasco.

Market-place
of Bocqua.

The party continued on cordial terms with the chief, and learned that this was the famous market-place of Bocqua, frequented by numerous strangers from the interior, and from the upper and lower banks of the Niger. Their previous information was confirmed, that the great river which they had passed was the Tchadda, and that the city of Funda was situated three days' journey above the point of junction.

High esti-
mate of
Europeans.

Friendly
promises.

After some farther communication the party next day resumed their voyage. They passed Atta, a large town, of the inhabitants of which they had received no favourable accounts; but after touching at Abbazacca, whose rapacious chief they found it very difficult to satisfy, they next day arrived at Damuggoo, where they experienced a more cordial reception than in any other part of Africa. In the more interior districts, where white men were never heard of, they had been viewed merely as strange beings, the sight of whom afforded sometimes amusement, and at others occasioned terror; but the people nearer the coast had received even exaggerated accounts of the power of Europeans and of the greatness of their monarchs. The chief of Damuggoo expressed in strong language the pleasure he experienced, and which he said would have been felt by his deceased father, at beholding a white man. A grand festival in their honour was celebrated by the firing of muskets and a night of dancing and revelry. On condition of their waiting a few days, he undertook to send a canoe and some of his people with them down to the sea. He seemed particularly delighted with the idea of the great white king being made acquainted with his kind treatment of the travellers, adding, "You may inform him of my

dignity, my riches, my strength, and my power." When they complained of the crowds who, impelled by curiosity, blocked up the door of their hut, he coolly recommended that their heads should be struck off, though they did not think proper to avail themselves of this permission. Indeed this chief seemed to be a very tyrant in his administration, performing the operation just mentioned on the slightest offences. He, however, faithfully executed his engagements, though he showed a disposition to detain the travellers on the ground of unfavourable omens discovered in performing a fetish, which occupied him and his priests nearly a whole day, and also from the inspection of the entrails of birds; but Richard contrived to overrule all these objections. He sailed on the 4th of November, and on the way was much affected by the affliction of a poor female slave, who continued for some time fetching deep sighs, with an expression of sadness and silent sorrow, then burst into loud lamentations, and pointing to a spot on the coast, cried out: "There I was born! that is my country!" At two next morning he stopped in the vicinity of a village; but, impatient to proceed, set out at five, two hours before his brother, who followed in the Damuggoo canoe. It was after seven, when near the junction of two rivers, one flowing from the east into the Niger the other westward from it to Benin, he observed a large market-town named Kirree. Numerous boats were lying on the shore, and there soon appeared coming upwards a fleet of fifty large canoes ornamented with a variety of ensigns, among which was the British union flag, and others with devices representing tables, decanters, chairs, and similar domestic objects. The clothing of the men was likewise entirely of European manufacture, and the whole presented a spectacle at once picturesque and grateful to an English eye. Lander sailed gaily on to meet them; but emotions of a different kind speedily succeeded, when a huge negro fiercely beckoned to him to come on board. As he did not instantly obey, the crew mounted a platform, and levelled their muskets. He felt that, with

CHAP. XIV

Despotic
power of the
chief.Unfavour-
able omens.Junction of
streams.Sudden
danger.

CHAP. XIV

Spoliation of
Richard
Lander's
canoe.

his small loaded bark, to engage a fleet of fifty war-canoes was merely to throw away his life. The assailant then placed his boat alongside of the traveller's, and with incredible rapidity began to transfer its contents into his own. Our countryman, driven to despair, presented his piece at the chief; but it was wrested from him. He succeeded, however, in rescuing Pascoe's wife, who had been seized as part of the booty. The enemy's canoe then made for the town; and none of the others having joined in the outrage, our adventurer attempted a pursuit, and was received on board of a friendly vessel, while three men were put into his to assist in pulling her to the market.

Surprise of
John Lander.

Meantime John Lander, having left the village two hours after his brother, followed with his utmost speed. After sailing nearly an hour, his crew were surprised to see, in a passing canoe, a sheep and goat, which were recognised as having formed part of Richard's cargo. They pursued and recovered the animals, but were at a loss to understand how the other party had yielded them to plunderers who were only two in number. John was astonished when he came in sight of the large fleet decorated with European flags and ensigns; and when in one of them he observed his brother, he concluded that he must be returning to obtain restitution of his property. Several of these vessels instantly pursued him, and being of unusual magnitude, with a six-pounder lashed to the bow of each, he judged resistance vain, and tried to escape; but the hostile canoes pushed on with such rapidity that three of them successively struck against his boat, which was capsized and sunk. Struggling amid the water, he was endeavouring to reach a vessel in which sat two women from whom he hoped for pity, when a gigantic negro snatched him with a violent jerk out of the water, and let him drop into the canoe like a log. Meantime, as other small craft were pushing forward to share the booty, several came into collision and were upset; whereupon, men, women, and children, clinging to their floating goods, screamed and struggled

Sinking of
his canoe.

in the water. As John was looking around in despair, he again at a little distance discovered his brother, who was steadfastly gazing on him, and pointing his finger to the skies, as if saying, "Trust in God." Hereupon his mind became more calm, and soon after coming alongside, Richard threw a shirt over his naked body; but on attempting to step into the canoe he was dragged back.

CHAP. XIV

Encouragement of each other.

In this extremity, while the brothers scarcely hoped for life, affairs suddenly took a favourable turn. The people of Damuggoo had been plundered only because they had not been recognised; and with others of their countrymen they now joined in calling for justice. They were seconded by a number of females richly dressed in silk, with large anklets of ivory; also by the Moham-medan malems,—a class fierce and bigoted on the Upper Niger, but here always reasonable and friendly, and one of whom first cheered the sufferers with the hope of redress. A council was held in the market-place, which decided that the stolen articles should be restored, and the ringleader in the attack put to death. Search was presently made for the goods; and there were produced in the midst of the assembly the medicine-chest, a box with books and John Lander's diary, and the clothes-bag nearly emptied of its contents. There had disappeared the whole of the arms, nine valuable elephants' tusks, ostrich-feathers, various small commodities, and, what was most of all regretted, Richard's journal. Meantime certain wild cries were raised from without by the plunderers, who were on the point of making a desperate effort to regain the booty; but after having excited a violent tumult, seeing a strong party determined to resist them, they retired in disappointment to their canoes. The travellers were then called and informed, that the King of Kirree being absent they must be sent to Obie, ruler of the Eboe country, and placed at his disposal. It may be observed, that their assailants were Eboes, who came up equipped for war and plunder, yet provided with arms, clothes, earthenware, and skins, to purchase what they could not obtain by force.

Favourable change.

Partial restoration of their property.

Loss of Richard's journal.

CHAP. XIV.

Escorted to
Obie.Singular pre-
judices of the
natives.Native
royalty.Introduction
to King Obie.

Our countrymen considered this a favourable arrangement, though they became virtually captives, and were escorted down the river by two large war-vessels. The banks now presented an alluvial aspect resembling that of the coast; they were low, flat, bordered by vast entangled forests which almost concealed the habitations; but the crowds of people that came to the shore showed the neighbourhood to be populous. They were understood to raise plantains, bananas, and yams, in great abundance. The two brothers, however, were under the necessity of remaining in the bottom of the boat covered with mats, in consequence of the crew entertaining the strange idea that if the Niger, who had never before beheld a white man, should cast his eyes upon them, he would instantly destroy both them and their bark. On the 8th November, after they had passed two large branches of the river, one flowing south-east the other west, an Eboe man called out, "There is my country!" and they soon came in front of the town, where were hundreds of canoes, some larger than any they had yet observed, capable of containing seventy persons, many of whom made these vessels their sole habitation. The houses were uncommonly neat, plastered over, with wooden pillars in front, and surrounded by well-fenced court-yards planted with bananas, plantains, and cocoas. The travellers were speedily accosted in broken English by a person calling himself Gun, and pretending to be a sort of king and the relation of kings, his brother being King Boy, his father King Forday, who with King Jacket ruled the district at the mouth of the river. What was of much more consequence than this list of ridiculous monarchs, they learnt from him that an English brig, the *Thomas* of Liverpool, was lying in the river; and in this vessel they conceived the hope of embarking.

The next object was the introduction to the great and dreaded King Obie, who turned out to be a sprightly youth, with a mild open countenance, and shook hands with them very cordially. His brilliant and glittering ornaments almost entitled him to the appellation of the

“Coral King.” Strings and pieces of coral and glass hid the materials of his conical cap, and so closely encircled his neck as to impede respiration. One of the Bonny people, who had accompanied them from Damugoo, gave a long and eloquent description of the wrongs sustained at Kirree ; and though nothing was said on the subject of business, the general tenor of their reception inspired flattering hopes. But these were soon chilled by the intelligence that his majesty had determined to exact an enormous ransom ; and the only question appeared to be whether the people from Brass or from Bonny should have the benefit of the capture. So eager was the competition that the former made the ridiculous assertion, that the Bonny branch of the river having been dried up, it was impossible to convey the strangers by that route to the sea. Obie then sent for the travellers, and stated twenty bars, or the value of twenty slaves, as the price of their liberation, adding, that they must remain at Eboe till that amount should be sent up from the coast. This arrangement struck them with the deepest consternation, as it appeared very doubtful whether any English captain would consent to advance so great a sum. Happily, however, King Boy himself determined to engage in the speculation, and offered to pay Obie his demand, provided he obtained a book (bill) on Captain Lake of the Thomas for thirty-five bars and a cask of rum. This was to them gratifying intelligence, though the claim was exorbitant ; but they resolved to promise any thing in order to effect their escape. The engagement was accordingly made, and King Obie took a smiling leave, exacting a promise that on returning to England they would report him to be a good man.

Eboe is a very large town, called commonly the Eboe country, and forming the principal mart for slaves and palm-oil. The people are rude, brutal, and dissolute. Intoxication is indulged to great excess, the parties sitting till after midnight, and engaging in violent and often sanguinary quarrels. Indeed the groans and shrieks during these scenes were so dreadful, as at first to

CHAP. XIV

Royal decorations.

Enormous ransom demanded

Mode of ransom.

Population of Eboe.

CHAP. XIV. produce the belief that some person was enduring the most cruel death ; but it was discovered that such sounds arose in the midst of their deep potations, without being attended with any fatal consequences.

Noisy revels.

Overloaded canoe.

The travellers were put on board a canoe belonging to Brass Town, fifty feet long, but occupied by sixty persons, and so heavily laden with goods that it did not rise more than two inches out of the water, and on any stream less smooth than the Niger must have been speedily swamped. Great inconvenience was experienced from the limited space, especially at night, when the Landers could not stretch themselves to sleep without having laid upon their bodies the feet of King Boy and of his royal spouse Addizetta, which, being of very large dimensions, and loaded with heavy ornaments, produced an intolerable pressure. They sailed on the 12th November, and on the 14th felt the influence of the tide. On the 15th they overtook three canoes, one of which conveyed King Forday, a venerable, complacent-looking old man, who endeavoured to amuse them with a song, which, though scarcely audible, was highly applauded by his subjects.

Singular entry into Brass Town.

The entry into Brass Town was made in singular style. The fetish priests drew in chalk on the persons of King Boy, themselves, and the crew, various fantastic figures, which made it scarcely possible to recognise them ; then, taking their station on the bow of the boat, they performed strange dances and gestures. The town was found to be a miserable, dirty, marshy place, divided by a lagoon into two portions, each containing about 1000 inhabitants, and one belonging to King Forday, the other to King Jacket. The rank luxuriance of the surrounding soil produces only the plantain ; while the making of salt, and trading with the towns on the river, form the occupations of the people. Forday would not allow Lander to depart till he gave to his majesty a *book* for the value of four slaves, and agreed to leave his brother and seven others as hostages till the bills were paid.

Exorbitant exactions of King Forday.

On the 17th of November, Richard Lander embarked

to complete his important discovery. The branch of the Niger, which here enters the sea, is divided into two smaller sections, called the First and Second Brass Rivers; but Brass Town is not built upon either, probably from their banks being too moist and liable to inundation. It stands upon a large creek, connected with the main streams by numerous rivulets winding through this alluvial district. As they sailed along, wherever an echo was returned, Boy threw into the river a portion of rum, yam, or fish, to propitiate the spirit of the flood. The shores were almost wholly under water and covered with impenetrable thickets of mangrove. In the evening they reached the Second, and next morning the First Brass River, called by the Portuguese the Nun, and in a quarter of an hour after, Richard, with inexpressible delight, saw two European vessels at anchor. The first was a Spanish slave-ship, on board of which he was courteously received, but found the crew suffering dreadfully from sickness. He hastened to the English one, eagerly anticipating a cordial reception, and the termination of all his troubles. But he was distressed to find it in a more sickly state than the other; four of the crew were dead, the remaining four lying sick, and the captain himself in an advanced stage of fever. Lander told him his story, and having had his majesty's instructions read, earnestly intreated him to fulfil his engagements with the African chief, under the assurance of being remunerated by government. To his utter dismay the captain, with brutal oaths and abusive expressions, absolutely refused to give a single article. Instead of the generous character of a British mariner, the traveller discovered a being fiercer and more ignorant than any he had met with in the unfrequented wilds of Africa. Boy was then requested to take them to Bonny, where he would find numerous English vessels; but he replied, "No, no, dis captain no pay, Bonny captain no pay; I won't take you any farther." Lander might have been more easily consoled under this involuntary breach of faith, had not his brother and the rest of the party been

CHAP. XIV

Situation of
Brass Town.European
vessels.Brutal conduct of an
English
captain.

CHAP. XIV. still in the power of Boy, whose countenance betokened the most gloomy discontent. At length Lake was prevailed upon to give a sort of growling promise that when these individuals were brought to the ship the stipulated payment would be made. The king took his leave, sullen and grumbling, yet engaging that within three days he would return with the others.

Meantime, John waited with anxiety the issue of his brother's expedition, and the return of the chief. A letter from Richard first acquainted him with the cause of the delay, which gave occasion to the most alarming apprehension. Soon after King Boy was heard furiously quarrelling with his wives, and muttering to himself as he walked towards the apartment. John, who had been reposing on a mat, placed his head on his hand and awaited the tempest which was about to burst upon him. The ruler entered, his eye flashing, his lip quivering, his countenance exhibiting bitter scorn; he then burst into expressions of savage indignation. "Eh!" said he, "you are thief man; English captain no will! You assured me, when I took you from the Eboe country, that he would be overjoyed to see me, and give me plenty of beef and rum; I received from him neither the one nor the other." After recounting at length his own good deeds and their promises, he always concluded, "But you are no good; you are thief man. Eh! English captain no will; he no will." After allowing him to give full vent to his fury, Lander mildly renewed assurances, that as soon as Captain Lake saw him and his companions on board he would afford all the satisfaction desired. Boy, half believing, half mistrusting, went out in a very gloomy temper; but two days after, his spirits being elated by a splendid festival, celebrated on occasion of old Forday resigning to him the government, he promised to set out next morning.

On the 23d November, the savage monarch and his suite departed in a large canoe, with John and his comrades in a smaller one. In the evening they passed the Second Brass River, and the traveller forcibly describes

Promised
ransom.

Anxiety of
John Lander

Indignation
of the Eboe
chief.

Moderated
by renewed
promises.

Departure
for the mouth
of the Niger

his emotions when he "could perceive in the distance the long-wished-for Atlantic, with the moonbeams reposing in peaceful beauty upon its surface, and could also hear the sea breaking and roaring over the sandy bar which stretches across the mouth of the river. The solemn voice of ocean never sounded more melodiously in my ear than it did at that moment. O! it was enchanting as the harp of David." The masts and rigging of the brig, seen at midnight like a dusky cloud, appeared to him beautiful as the gates of paradise. Meantime, Richard endured intense anxiety, aggravated by the unfeeling captain, who advised him not to trouble himself any more about his brother, as he was certainly dead. When the party were at length descried at midnight encamping at the mouth of the river, Lake caused all the muskets to be loaded and placed in a covert position, so that they might open at once on the people of Brass if they should attempt any violence. On the morning of the 24th, the canoe arrived, and a happy meeting took place between the two brothers. Boy was politely received; but, agitated by hope and fear, he could not but observe that there was no preparation for delivering that valuable assortment of goods which he had so fondly expected. Feeling himself in the power of the English, he exchanged his haughtiness for a submissive address. The Landers, who well knew what was to follow, endeavoured to sooth him by presenting five silver bracelets, a native sword, and a watch, of which Boy knew not the value. The two first were accepted, though he called one of his men, and showed what was offered instead of the thirty-five bars, when both uttered a significant groan. He then ventured to approach the captain, and ask for the goods solemnly promised to him. Lake, willing to delay the crisis till the ship was under way, excused himself on account of being busied in writing, till the demand being repeated again and again, he called out in a voice of thunder, "*I no will!*" then burst into a torrent of furious invective against the poor African monarch. Boy was thunderstruck, and observing the preparations

CHAP. XIV.

Sound of the ocean.

Anxiety of Richard Lander

Presents to the chief

Base conduct of Captain Lake.

CHAP. XIV. for sailing, became afraid lest he should be carried off, and, hastening into the canoe, made with full speed for the shore.

Departure of
King Boy.

Great danger
at the river
bar.

Brutal con-
duct of Lake

Murderous
practice of
corsairs.

Payment of
the ransom.

Considerable danger was encountered at the bar of the river, which is imperfectly known, and passable only by a narrow channel, generally concealed by the foam of breakers. On the 1st December, they reached the lofty and beautiful island of Fernando Po. Lake, during this passage, continued to annoy them in various ways. Notwithstanding that the assistance of Lander's men had contributed materially in enabling him to get his vessel out of the river, he used to amuse himself by causing his crew to throw buckets of sea-water upon them as they lay asleep. Indeed, he and some of his brother-navigators on this coast appear to be the greatest monsters in existence. Another captain, while his men were in a sickly state, thought it a delightful frolic to whitewash them all, though one of them thereby lost the sight of an eye. Lake again touched at Fernando Po towards the middle of January, and manifested some solicitude to have the conveyance of the travellers to England, for which he now understood that payment would be received ; but they declined having more to do with him. He was afterwards seen chased by a vessel, supposed to be a pirate ; and as he has not since been heard of, there is reason to believe that he was made to "walk the plank." This is a form of murder practised by corsairs on those unhappy shores. A plank is laid across the deck, partly projecting beyond it over the water, on which the doomed individual is compelled to walk to the outer extremity, when it sinks beneath his weight, and he perishes. It may be proper to mention, that government have redeemed the British reputation on this coast, by sending orders to transmit to King Boy the stipulated ransom.

The travellers could not find an eligible opportunity of leaving Fernando Po till the 20th January 1831, when they sailed on board the *Caernarvon*, Captain Garth, for Rio Janeiro. The crew suffered much by sickness ; but,

notwithstanding, on the 16th March they reached that port. Admiral Baker, who then commanded on the station, gave them a most hospitable reception, and afforded them a passage home in the William Harris transport, which sailed on the 20th; and on the 9th June they arrived at Portsmouth.

CHAP. XIV

Voyage home.

This journey by individuals who make no pretensions to science has not afforded materials for illustrating any of its branches; but, previous to the loss of their instruments, the range of the thermometer was regularly recorded. At Badagry, on the coast, where the heat was most oppressive, it was between 86° and 94° , oftener stationary near the latter than the former point. At Jenna it fell suddenly one day from 94° to 78° , and remained at the latter some hours. At Assinara, at noon, on the 23d April, it attained the height of 99° . Near Katunga it fell upon one occasion to 71° in the shade, the air being then cooler than they had felt it since landing. At Kiama the extremes were 75° and 94° , the mean 84° . At Youri the range was the same. On their voyage from Youri to Boussa, on the 2d August, it varied from 75° to 92° . At Boussa it varied from 76° to 93° , but most commonly between 80° and 90° . At Patashie generally between 74° and 89° , once 93° . Lever, 77° to 93° . Bajiebo, 70° to 95° . On the passage down the river below that place, on 5th October, 73° to 94° . Belee, 79° to 94° .

Results of the journey.

Variations of the thermometer.

Such has been the issue of this important voyage, by which the grand problem that perplexed Europe for so many ages, and on which, during a period of nearly forty years, so many efforts and sacrifices had been expended in vain, was completely resolved. British enterprise completed, as it had begun, this great discovery. Park, in his first journey, reached the banks of the Niger, and saw it rolling its waters towards the interior of the continent. In the second, he embarked at Bammakoo, and by sailing downward to Boussa proved its continuous progress for upwards of 1000 miles. The present voyage has exhibited it following a farther course, which, with

Important result of the voyage.

Observations of Park.

CHAP. XIV. its windings, must amount to about 800 miles, and finally emptying itself into the Atlantic. This celebrated stream is now divested of that mysterious character which surrounded it with a species of supernatural interest. Rising in a chain of high mountains, flowing through extensive plains, receiving large tributaries, and terminating in the ocean, it exhibits exactly the ordinary phenomena of a great river. But by this discovery we see opened to our view a train of most important consequences. The Niger affords a channel of communication with the most fertile, most industrious, and most improved regions of Interior Africa. Its navigation is every where easy and safe, unless at intervals between Boussa and Youri, and between Patashie and Lever ; and even there it becomes practicable during the *malca*, or flood produced by the periodical rains. British vessels may therefore, by this stream and its tributaries, ascend to Rabba, Boussa, Youri, Sackatoo, Timbuctoo, Sego, and probably to other cities as great, but yet unknown. They may navigate the yet unexplored Tchadda, a river which, at its junction, is nearly as large as the Niger itself, and no doubt waters extensive and fertile regions. The decided superiority of the interior of Africa to the coast renders this event highly important. Steam, so peculiarly adapted to river-navigation, affords the means by which the various obstacles may be overcome, and vessels may be enabled to penetrate into the very heart of the African continent.

Course of the Niger.

Important consequences of the discovery.

Anticipation of future results.

CHAPTER XV.

Laird and Oldfield—Allen—Davidson.

Plan of Mr Laird's Expedition—Voyage to the Niger—Ascent to Eboe—Dreadful Sickness and Mortality—Attempts to ascend the River—Mr Laird proceeds to Funda—Adventures there, and Departure—Description of that City—Mr Oldfield ascends the Tchadda—Visits Rabba—Its Description—Descends the River—Death of Lander—Return to England—Mr Allen's Theory respecting the Yeou and Tchadda—Mr Davidson's Expedition—Residence at Morocco—Journey to Wadnoon—His Murder—Accounts respecting Timbuctoo.

THE information supplied by the Landers established the fact that the Niger is a stream of the first magnitude, opening from the ocean upwards a broad navigable channel into the interior of fertile and populous regions, and connected with tributaries almost as large as itself. Such tidings could not but excite the characteristic enterprise of British merchants. At Liverpool, accordingly, a body of gentlemen, at the head of whom was Mr Macgregor Laird, formed a company with the view of turning the recent discoveries to some practical advantage. They declared, we believe with truth, that commerce, though of course an essential, was by no means their only object. They hoped also to aid in suppressing the slave-trade, in introducing true religion, civilisation, and humanizing influences, among nations whose barbarism had hitherto been only heightened by European connexion.

Steam-navigation presented an obvious resource for overcoming the obstacles which occur in the rivers of Africa. Two iron steamers were therefore constructed,

CHAP. XV

—
Influence of
Lander's
discoveries.

Plan of Mr.
Macgregor
Laird.

Resources
of steam
navigation.

CHAP. XV. the Quorra of forty and the Alburkah of sixteen horse power, with crews of twenty-six and fourteen men respectively: while the Columbine, a sailing vessel of 200 tons, carried out goods. Mr Lander readily accepted an invitation to join the party, and they were also accompanied by Lieutenant Allen of the navy, whom the admiralty appointed to survey the river; while Dr Briggs and Mr Oldfield went as medical attendants.

The vessels
of the
expedition.

Departure
from
Liverpool.

The expedition sailed from Liverpool on the 19th July 1832, and proceeded direct for Port Praya in the Cape de Verd Islands, where they arrived on the 17th August. They then touched successively at Sierra Leone and the American settlement of Monrovia, engaging on this coast a number of Kroomen, a race remarkable for their activity and skill in the management of boats. They afterwards paid visits to the Dutch colony at Axim and to Cape Coast Castle, and on the 16th October anchored near the mouth of the river Nun. The effects of the climate were already painfully perceptible, so that in two or three days they lost Captain Harries and two seamen of the Columbine. Ten days were employed in preparations, during which they were attended by the Kings Boy and Forday, who showed a profusion of civilities.

Exploring a
passage.

On the 26th, having got under way, they began to explore a passage through the narrow channels. The country on both sides of the river appeared one extensive swamp, covered with mangrove, cabbage, and palm trees; whence the fen-damp rose in the morning, cold and clammy, like the smoke of a wet wood fire. The natives were very unhealthy, partly owing to their coarse diet and to an excessive indulgence in spirits; yet the only effect felt from the climate was a tendency to grow extremely fat, which operated even while consuming only half the usual quantity of victuals. On the 1st November, Lander, who had gone somewhat ahead, intimated the danger of an attack from an Eboe village; and Mr Laird soon after saw the whole right bank in a blaze of musketry. The Quorra was presently put in motion, and placed abreast of the town. The fire ceased during

Attack from
an Eboe
village.



VISIT OF THE KING OF EBOE TO THE STEAMERS.

the night, but was recommenced in the morning out of the bush by enemies almost invisible. It was soon silenced by a discharge from the vessel, and the English then landed, and burned the houses; but as they were returning, the natives appeared again, and renewed the fire with loud yells, so that the party had some difficulty in re-embarking. This attack was found to have arisen from a misunderstanding caused by the discharge of a signal-gun; though it seems to be acknowledged that the inhabitants of the hostile village bear very bad characters. The population as far as Eboe was not reckoned to exceed four thousand adults, who were in the most degraded and demoralized state. The only produce of their country was palm-oil, collected in gourds of two or four gallons, which could be procured in any quantity.

CHAP. XV.

Unfortunate misunderstanding.

Degraded population.

On arriving at Eboe they met a cordial reception from the king, who is described as tall in his person, with a pleasing countenance and agreeable manners. He displayed extraordinary politeness, in the most lively attention to their wants and comfort; and after the conference, he accompanied them to the boats, walking familiarly with his arm round Mr. Lander's neck, and followed by not fewer than between two and three thousand of his subjects. Next day also he made a public visit to the ships, escorted by seven war-canoes, each containing between sixty and seventy men, and by about fifty other canoes of all sizes. Upwards of an hundred canoes likewise came in the evening with cargoes of yams, bananas, and palm-oil, thus indicating the existence of much regular and honest industry.

Cordial reception at Eboe.

On the 9th November the party left Eboe, and were proceeding favourably, when on the 11th fever made its appearance, and on the following day Mr. Laird felt its symptoms—throbbing headache, burning pain in the feet and hands, deadly sickness at the stomach, with a sudden prostration of strength. The disease daily spread more widely, till, by the 24th, the Quorra had lost thirteen men and the Alburkah two. They were struck

Noxious effects of the climate.

CHAP. XV.

Causes of the
distemper.

with an apprehension that all would perish together, and not one return to relate the catastrophe; but the malady then somewhat abated. This dreadful distemper is ascribed to the close air on a narrow winding river, where a horrid stench issued from the surrounding swamps. The writer considers it as having been aggravated by the monotony of the scene, and the absence of all excitement, even that of danger. He recommends constant employment, music, and even a temporary increase in the allowance of spirits, to support the sinking energies. It seems singular that the voyage to Attah, a distance of about three hundred miles, should have occupied a month, when a good steamer, it might be presumed, could have accomplished it in a few days.

Unsatisfac-
tory transac-
tions with
the King of
Attah.

The transactions with the King of Attah were very unsatisfactory; and his brother, with whom they endeavoured to treat for ivory and other goods, ended every discussion with the angry query, "Why wont you take men?" His majesty indeed was seen performing certain ceremonies, in which persons fantastically dressed used expressive gestures, and threw alligators' flesh into the water, hoping thereby to prevent the strangers from ascending; but as he did not oppose any human obstructions, they proceeded without difficulty. The river now assumed a delightful appearance, bordered by hills with flat summits; beyond which appeared in the distance the bold range of the Kong mountains. The sick began to recover, and the convalescents to gain strength. In approaching the confluence of the Tchadda, the Niger presented itself as "an immense river about 3000 yards wide, flowing majestically between its banks, which rose gradually to a considerable height, and were studded with clumps of trees and brushwood, giving them the appearance of a gentleman's park; while the smoke rising from different towns on its banks, and the number of canoes floating on its bosom, gave it an aspect of security and peace far beyond any African scene I had yet witnessed." The prospect of trade, however, did not correspond with Mr Lander's report. Ivory was scarce and dear, and

Appearance
of the river
at the con-
fluence of the
Tchadda.

the indigo so dirty as not to be worth its freight home. The stream became now very shallow, and on the 22d December the Quorra struck first on one sandbank, and then on another; and, after a succession of such accidents, it was found necessary to house her, and await the rise caused by the rainy season. A convenient situation was found on an adjacent hill for depositing the goods. The table-lands were very extensive, one of them containing four towns; and the hill-sides were so steep as completely to secure them against an enemy. Lander endeavoured to penetrate upwards in the Alburkah to Rabba and Boussa, but soon discovered that the depth of water was insufficient for his purpose. Condemned to a gloomy and monotonous life, Mr Laird again suffered under ague, and was deeply affected by the death of Dr Briggs, whose society had been his chief consolation. He now, therefore, determined to ascend the Tchadda to Funda, long known as the chief city in this part of Africa; but the entrance was so obstructed by sandbanks, that the boat could proceed only through a creek, which, two miles above, traverses its delta. The main stream, thus attained, was found two fathoms deep, and flowing rapidly. After a tedious navigation of seven days, during which he passed a considerable number of villages, he reached Yimmaha, the port of Funda, about thirty miles distant. The most unfavourable intelligence was here received respecting the king, who was said to have poisoned two brothers, beheaded a third, while a fourth, to escape his cruelty, had committed suicide: it was added that his conduct to merchants was most inhuman and oppressive. Mr Laird, however, trusting that these reports were exaggerated, did not allow himself to be deterred. He despatched a message, in reply to which, after some delay, eighteen horsemen from the king came to wait upon him; they bent down, put his foot on their heads, and threw dust over their persons. Their palaver imported, that the monarch was ready to receive him, and had sent meantime a present of goats and yams. Vain attempts were made to procure bearers, the natives

CHAP. XV

Shallowness
of the
stream.Death of
Dr. Briggs.Unfavour-
able intelli-
gence at
Yimmaha.Messenger
from the
king.

CHAP. XV.

Arrival at
Funda.

declaring they were men, not horses ; however, Mr Laird, finding a navigable channel to within nine miles of Funda, contrived to reach that city. He arrived by moonlight, and was shown first to a miserable hovel, but next day to a better house in a broad street. Both night and morning, he was beset and annoyed by immense crowds, who showed the most unbounded curiosity to see a white man ; and having brought into his presence a disgusting Albino, they asked if he was his brother.

Unpromising
proceedings.

In the afternoon, the king waited upon him in full state, decorated with splendid silk and velvet robes, which covered a person of enormous size ; but his countenance bore a sinister expression, not ill answering the reports concerning him. He declared, however, that he had great pleasure in seeing a European ; promised abundance of ivory, professing that all he had was Mr Laird's, and promising to secure for him better quarters. His majesty having seated himself on a large tin box containing the traveller's clothes, his attendants immediately stated that it had thereby become royal property, affixed to it the broad arrow, and placed it on their shoulders to convey it to the palace. The wardrobe, however, was rescued by two of the Kroomen, though not till after a fierce altercation.

Singular
treatment of
royalty.

In the evening the merchant was visited by a raw-boned active-looking man whom he thought he must have seen before, but could not tell where. As this personage became insolent and exacting, the Kroomen were employed to eject him. Next day the traveller having gone to return the royal visit, was waiting in an outer court of the palace, when this very individual came and sat down beside him. After some talk, he inquired for the king, and was astounded to hear that he who sat by him, and whom the night before he had so roughly turned away, was the same person. Our countryman showed an extreme incredulity, founded chiefly on the disappearance of his former enormous dimensions ; but these proved to have been an affair of state produced by ample stuffing. Having next refused to the royal

request the carpet on which he sat, he parted from his majesty on terms by no means promising. CHAP. XV.

Unfriendly dispositions were ere long manifested. For example, when Mr Laird removed to comfortable lodgings at the house of a rich widow, who gave him a cordial welcome, he was astonished to find that he had thereby committed a serious offence; his goods were seized, the lady was hurried to the palace and put in irons preparatory to her being flogged. Hastening thither, he was received by the sable monarch with a volley of words, not understood, but evidently hostile, and accompanied with the comment of passing his hands repeatedly across his throat. However, the introduction of eleven well-armed Kroomen gave a happy turn to the discussion, which closed with the arrangement that, on quitting his residence at the widow's, he should be accommodated with apartments within the royal mansion. This establishment, like others in Africa, consisted merely of an immense assemblage of huts, covering nine or ten acres and surrounded by a mud wall; two of which, about twenty feet in diameter, swarming with vermin, were assigned to the traveller.

Unfriendly
dispositions
manifested.

Happy turn
of affairs.

The residence here proved extremely uncomfortable. The natives flocked with the most eager curiosity to see the white man, especially when eating; and if they could put him in a passion, which he admits was too easily done, their delight was unbounded. The king admitted them through a gateway, and, it was believed, levied a fee from every visiter; but Mr Laird at last, by threatening to shoot the first that entered, freed himself from the annoyance. After sunset the whole city resounded with a concert of drums, triangles, and trumpets, which he declares diabolical, and having the accompaniment of mosquitoes, buzzards, ants, rats, and bull-frogs, placed sleep entirely out of his reach. A severe illness seized him, and by reducing his personal dimensions, with which all African ideas of dignity are associated, greatly lowered him in public estimation. The king daily paid him long visits, during which, the latter, whose temper

Irritating
native
curiosity.

Evening concert.

CHAP. XV. as well as spirits had yielded greatly to sickness and annoyance, seems scarcely to have observed the prudence requisite in dealing with a prince in whose power he had placed himself. Their interviews appear to have been marked by incessant altercation; and he at one time threatened to blow up the town with gunpowder. It was soon evident that the enterprise was to be most unprofitable, since every one who attempted to sell ivory was severely flogged; and the king, if he had any, carefully withheld it. By a messenger despatched to Yim-maha, he learned that Lander had gone down the river, that Lieutenant Allen was in a high fever, and in his delirium had wounded the cook of the Alburkah. Our traveller's only object was now to escape out of the perilous condition into which he had plunged; but on asking permission and the means of conveyance, the king replied, that his gods would not allow him. There seemed, indeed, much room to apprehend that their next injunction would be to murder him, and seize all his property; a measure which, perhaps, was only retarded by a superstitious dread attached to the idea of a white man.

Impolitic
altercations
with the
king.

Unfavour-
able reports
from Lander.

Means
of escape
devised.

Every means of escape was now to be studied; and Sarsfield, an attendant, by his knowledge of the native character, was enabled to devise one. Mr Laird announced to the king that, on a certain day and hour, he would perform a solemn ceremony with a view to discover whether he was to depart or to stay at Funda. His majesty, the priests, and the whole city crowded to see the white man's fetish; the walls and roofs to a great distance were covered with spectators. The traveller, being provided with four skyrockets, to which he had attached a paper with mystic characters, suddenly let them off, followed with the blaze of six blue lights. The multitude, struck with terror, fled in every direction; the king threw himself on the ground, and begged to know the decree of destiny. Wishing to fix the impression more deeply, he invited the savage to his cottage, and taking out a compass announced that if the needle, when placed on the ground, should point to him-

Superstitious
terror of the
natives.

self, it would portend his departure ; if to his majesty, the contrary. He took care of course to place it in the due position ; and the king, on seeing the result, gave a hurried consent, then hastened away, timidly refusing to touch the instrument. After a day spent in preparation Laird had the satisfaction of leaving, and in four days reached the vessel.

CHAP. XV

Consent to
Mr. Laird's
departure.

Funda is one of the largest towns in Interior Africa, nearly three miles in length, and its population not much short of 40,000. Only about a tenth are Mohammedans, who include, however, the most opulent among the inhabitants. The slaves, estimated to be as five to six of the freemen, are mildly treated, but very scantily fed. A magnificent, fruitful, and beautiful plain surrounds the city, bounded by a range of low distant hills. The place is enclosed by a wall twelve feet high, six thick, and for the most part by a ditch ten feet deep. Cotton is spun by every individual high and low, the king himself not excepted ; the implement being a species of bobbin, which can be used even in walking. There are also extensive dye-works ; and iron is fabricated into a great variety of useful articles. For ornamental purposes, copper is employed, said to be brought down the Tchadda ; and the profession of the smith is highly honoured. Trade was reported to have been once very brisk, but is now much reduced by the king's oppressive conduct. The principal amusements consist in horse-races and other exercises, performed upon the adjacent plain ; and the animals display considerable agility, even under the weight of riders wadded out to an enormous size. This is followed by mock fights, and then by dances, chiefly distinguished by displays of agility, and by the barbarous dissonance of various loud instruments. The regular force appeared to consist only of three hundred foot and thirty cavalry ; and though there were six muskets, only one man durst venture to fire them.

Extent of
Funda

Working in
iron.

Popular
amusements.

Soon after, Mr Laird descended the Niger ; and having visited Bimbia and Calabar, and spent some time at Fernando Po, he returned to England. His narrative,

Return of
Mr Laird.

CHAP. XV. however, is succeeded by the journal of Mr Oldfield, who went out as surgeon of the Alburkah, the early part of which, before the arrival at Attah, embraces nearly the same subjects, and communicates little new information. But after that period, as the two vessels proceeded in different directions, he had an opportunity of adding very considerably to our knowledge. After the return of Mr Laird from Funda, he and Lander determined to ascend the Tchadda, hoping, we believe without reason, to reach by that channel the great lake Tchad. The shores were varied ; but generally speaking, neither so fertile nor populous as those of the Niger. The natives seemed struck with alarm ; and when the steam was let off, and a skyrocket sent up, they fled in the utmost consternation. In passing near Funda, they received a visit from the king's daughter, with whom they were greatly pleased. A messenger arrived from the sovereign of the Bassa ; but, awed by some mysterious dread, he came repeatedly abreast of the vessel, and after looking earnestly at it, always dropped astern, and finally departed without entering. At two contiguous towns, Dagboh, and Obohbe, the chiefs fled, and only one sent his daughter, ten or eleven years old, with no attire except a girdle of beads. They landed at the former place, and found it of considerable extent, the streets well stocked with sheep, goats, and poultry ; but all the natives had disappeared except two, who earnestly beckoned them to depart. Having heard of Domah, a populous and industrious town, two days' journey inland, they sent thither a messenger ; but he was stopped by a party of Bornou soldiers, who threatened if he proceeded to cut off his head. Thus excluded from all intercourse with the shore, their stock of provisions became extremely low, and consisted almost solely of the coarse grain of dhourra. For this reason, after having ascended the river 104 miles, Mr Lander deemed it necessary to return. On the way down, they landed at a town named Oruka, and even received an invitation from the king of Corracu ; but, as his majesty showed some vacillation,

Journal of
Mr. Oldfield.

Ascending
the Tchadda.

Apprehen-
sion of the
natives.

Failure of
provisions.

they finally departed without seeing him. At length they found themselves in the Niger, where they were relieved from the disagreeable sensation of an empty stomach, which had been often experienced on the Tchadda.

CHAP. XV.

Return to
the Niger.

Lander had been baffled in a former attempt to ascend to Boussa ; but as its periodical rise was now approaching, it was thought possible at least to reach Rabba, intending to open a trade with that important capital. On this voyage, the river with its banks made a most magnificent appearance. Villages followed each other, in many places at the distance of only a stonecast. The mountains were clothed with the most brilliant verdure, and partly cultivated to the very summit. Some of the expanses, particularly one which is represented on the accompanying wood-cut, looked like choice specimens of lake scenery, with most picturesque combinations of rugged wildness, romantic grandeur, and smiling beauty. The people, too, instead of the jealous dread which prevailed on the Tchadda, showed the most eager and friendly curiosity. At one place a body of Mallams came out, and gave the navigators a most solemn welcome, repeating sentences from the Koran. Egga surpassed Mr. Oldfield's expectations, appearing to contain an immense population. They met a friendly reception, too, from Ederesa, a mild good-humoured looking personage, who reigned over one-half of Nyffe, while his brother, the magia, reigned over the other.

Ascent to
Rabba.Friendly
disposition of
the natives

A strong sensation had been excited along the Niger by this expedition. A canoe arrived, sent by the King of Rabba to ascertain if they were the same Christians who had been at Sackatoo two years before. A messenger was despatched to announce their peaceable intentions. Two other canoes afterwards appeared from the magia and from the King of the Dark Water (Zagoshi) ; but they hovered for some time around the vessel before venturing to approach. The envoy returned, stating that the king and chiefs of Rabba thinking they came as auxiliaries to the magia, had been in

Messenger
from the
king of
Rabba.

CHAP. XV. very great alarm, and had even thought of abandoning the town ; but his statements had reassured them. On the same evening the party came in sight of Rabba, which appeared of immense extent, built on a rising ground, and resembling an amphitheatre. An amazing crowd of natives, including a number of Fellata horsemen, had assembled to see them. The English fired a salute, the first time that a cannon had been heard on the upper Niger, and next morning found horses waiting to convey them to the palace. The streets were narrow and excessively dirty ; but they passed through a range of markets, fitted respectively for wood, cloth, indigo, slaves, and other articles, with which they appeared well stocked. The royal residence consisted of about thirty huts, each surmounted by an ostrich-egg and enclosed by a high wall. After passing through several apartments, they came to the palaver-house, where above a hundred chiefs were seated cross-legged, having the whole head except the eyes enveloped in muslin robes. They could not for some time discover who was the king ; but found him at length in Osiman, son to Mallam Dendo, who was sitting very plainly dressed among the others. This temporary concealment is a common policy, adopted from fear, or from the hope that several of them might obtain presents under the regal character. Osiman proved a shrewd intelligent man, with a dignified and imposing, yet frank address. Several ladies came and peeped at the strangers ; but on being seen, scampered away laughing. The king, according to African etiquette, removed the presents without almost deigning to look at them. The party were apprized, however, of other persons of almost equal dignity, who would expect to be similarly gratified. Such were Mallam Moosa, an agreeable old man, seemingly the head of the Moslem religion, surrounded by about thirty or forty persons, several of whom were ferocious and ill-looking, with beards reaching to the middle, and, in one instance, shaped like a peacock's tail. Another was Sullikeen Yiki, the king of war or general, a fierce-looking personage, seated on a leopard's skin.

Great extent
of Rabba.

Well stocked
markets.

Reception by
the king.

Important
chiefs.

His aspect was so little prepossessing, that they shortened their visit as much as possible. The discoverers also landed on the island of Zagoshi, which they found in the same condition as formerly, except that it had been partially inundated by the flood, and some of the houses swept away.

CHAP. XV

Island of
Zagoshi.

The king, like all other African potentates, manifested an extreme alacrity to trade ; but, as usual, rather on a one-sided system. He showed the strongest disposition to take almost every thing the travellers had or could command ; but, though ample payment was promised in ivory or cowries, it was not made good without extreme difficulty, and we do not clearly understand if it was ever completed. Generally he treated them with great politeness ; yet he confidentially disclosed his real opinion to their African servant, expressing wonder that he should accompany dogs and unbelievers, adding : “ It is well known that in their own country they eat black men, and dye red cloth with their blood. Besides, they know nothing, not even Allah ; and, after death, they are our slaves in paradise.” The people, however, crowded to obtain the benefit of their skill in medicine, believed to be supernatural ; and in the morning their court-yard resembled an infirmary. The natives expected that the English, like their Mallams, would effect the cure by charms written on a piece of paper ; and one old lady was most indignant at the request to feel her daughter’s pulse, declaring that if she once touched an unbeliever, she would never recover. One man having been taken ill, believed that they had blown poison through the key-hole of his door.

Royal mode
of trading.Prejudices
against
white men.

Rabba was estimated to contain about 40,000 inhabitants, and the surrounding country is very fertile, abounding in grain, vegetables, and cattle. The finest horses are brought from Sackatoo ; but some of excellent quality are reared in the district, and might be purchased for about three pounds. The army is estimated at 20,000 foot and 5000 horse, chiefly slaves liberated on condition of military service. During a great part of the year

Population
of Rabba.

CHAP. XV.

Slave hunting expeditions.

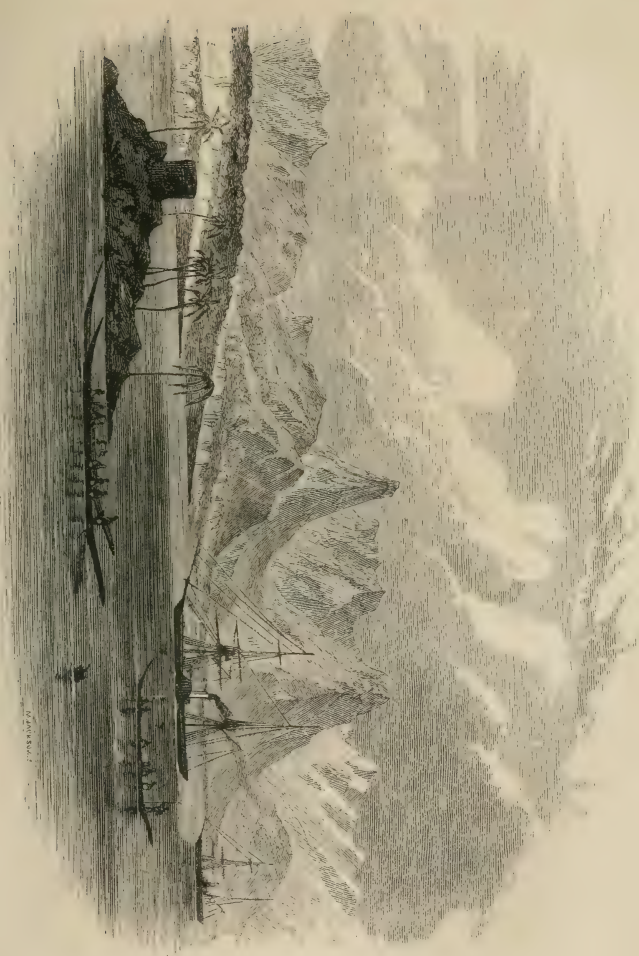
they follow pacific occupations ; but in the dry season, when the waters are low, they engage in those slave-hunting expeditions which form the chief object with all orders of African princes. The greater number are sent to Houssa ; while some are conveyed to the mouth of the river for the European market. Rabba is the centre of a great trade with the neighbouring countries, being even frequented by merchants from Tripoli.

Arrangements for a new Niger expedition.

After quitting this city, the party sailed down the river, and arrived at Fernando Po on the 3d November 1833. Arrangements were almost immediately made for a fresh expedition up the Niger. Mr Oldfield, in the Alburkah, was to lead the way, while Lander, in the Quorra, went to Cape Coast and Accra for a supply of cowries. The former sailed up to Iddah, the proper appellation, it seems, for the place before erroneously termed Attah, which is in fact the name of the king. Some time was spent there, and hopes entertained of opening an advantageous trade ; but their transactions could not be carried on in a satisfactory manner with that grasping and capricious tyrant. They had even strong reason to believe, that the death of seven Kroomen was occasioned by poison which he had administered ; and he readily acknowledged that he had murdered Pascoe by the same means. The surgeon then ascended to the mouth of the Tchadda, and, having visited the Iccory market, where he carried on some small traffic, returned down the river. He had already been apprized that Lander had been attacked and wounded by a body of natives ; and on reaching the estuary of the Niger learned all the particulars of this tragical adventure. That gentleman, who had come up with two boats and a stock of valuable articles, was, at a town named Hyammah, assailed by the combined inhabitants of it and two adjacent places. Three of his men were shot, several wounded, and he himself received a ball in the thigh, which, though at first it appeared not dangerous, proved ultimately fatal. A boat, a canoe, and most of the goods fell into the hands of the brigands. A lady and her

Ascent to the mouth of the Tchadda.

Lander fatally wounded.



M. J. B. S. 1

child were also captured, but afterwards ransomed. Mr Oldfield, in passing the place on his way downward, was careful to keep the steam in full action, and the vessel in the middle of the river ; yet two hundred men rushed from behind a bank, and commenced a fire, which they continued as long as the bark was in sight. He was afraid to return it, lest the vessel should have run aground, and his people have been overwhelmed by numbers. On the 9th July, he reached Fernando Po, and on the 8th November, his arrival at Falmouth closed this chequered, and, on the whole, very unfortunate expedition.

CHAP. XV.

Violent
attack on the
Alburkah.

Notwithstanding this unfavourable result, Mr Laird states plausible reasons for his belief that a commerce of considerable value might be opened with Central Africa, through the medium of the great rivers which flow into the Atlantic. The natives are active, eager for the acquisition of property, preferring, indeed, to obtain it by plunder or the sale of slaves, yet willing, if no other means are open to them, to resort to honest industry. He proposed to occupy one of the heights on the upper part of the Niger, and invite the people to bring commodities by giving them, in the first instance, liberal prices. The usual delay in the lower channel of this river, which has uniformly been attended with such injury to health, it was thought might be avoided. The British government also determined on an expedition for establishing factories on the Niger, some particulars of which will be given in the following chapter.

Prospect of
trade with
Central
Africa.

Lieutenant Allen, who accompanied Mr Laird, presented to the Geographical Society a map of the Quorra, with a memoir, in which he maintains the hypothesis, that the Tchadda and the Yeou are the same river, the latter flowing out of, not into, the lake Tchad, which thus communicates with the Niger. We confess ourselves unable to see any ground for setting aside the positive and repeated testimony of Major Denham upon this subject. He crossed the Yeou in entering Bornou from the north, and saw it flowing rapidly *eastward*, at the rate of three and a half miles an hour. The Arabs told him that it

Allen's map
of the
Quorra.

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Grounds of
Major Den-
ham's
opinions.

The Quar-
rama or
Zirmie.

Expedition
to Timbuc-
too.

Proceedings
of Mr.
Davidson.

continued in that direction, and fell into the lake, which was at no great distance. Afterwards, in visiting Old Birnie and Gambarou, he saw it repeatedly, and describes it always as flowing eastward, sometimes with rapidity. The supposition that, through its winding course, he had uniformly happened to see it taking a direction opposite to its usual one, seems very strained and improbable. The Nile of the Negroes, of the Arabian writers, and of Sherif Imhammed, appears to us clearly to be the Quarrama or Zirmie, which actually flows westward into the Quorra. The route of the traveller just named led to Ashantee; but how could that country be reached by crossing the Tchadda? In considering the basin of the lake as inadequate to receive the waters both of the Yeou and the Shary, he does not seem duly to estimate the great evaporation in so hot a climate. The Aral, not much larger, and in a colder region, receives two rivers of the first magnitude without any outlet.

The design of penetrating to Timbuctoo was not yet relinquished; and this task was again undertaken by Mr Davidson, who had already travelled in different quarters of the world, and possessed courage, strength, address, and urbanity, which seemed peculiarly to qualify him for its accomplishment. He embarked in September 1835 for Gibraltar; but found a difficulty in penetrating to Morocco, which was, however, overcome in virtue of his medical character. The emperor, labouring under illness, sent him a kind invitation to court, and the Kaid of Tangier received instructions to assist him on his journey. On arriving at the capital, he found his services wanted, not only by the monarch, but by all the sable beauties who adorned his court. Every morning, after waiting on his majesty, he was presented by the eunuch with a list of the ladies' complaints, under the expectation that next day he would bring a remedy for each. Having become thus a necessary person, he was reluctantly allowed to leave Morocco; and it was not till 1836, after being heartily sick of his attendance, that he obtained permission. He attempted to take the most direct route across

the chain of Atlas ; but after mounting to the height of 5000 feet, he was arrested by snow, and obliged to take the circuitous way of Mogadore. Here Mr Willshire the consul exerted his influence in a negotiation with the Sheik of Wadnoon for his safe conveyance to Timbuctoo. That chief professed the most friendly disposition ; but the great cafila arrived with dismal tidings of their having been twice attacked by the tribes of the desert, and thirteen of their number killed. The sheik expressed much apprehension ; but the traveller remained undaunted, and taking advantage of a fair, during which there was a general armistice, made his way southward. The caravan was found to muster in uncommon strength, being expected to comprise 400 horses and 2000 camels. With this party Mr Davidson would probably have been safe ; but he dreaded being, as he terms it, " worried to death " by the applications for medical aid from so numerous a body. He pushed on, therefore, with only four companions ; and the first letters received from him were written in high spirits, stating that his health was completely restored, and that he hoped to spend the new year at Timbuctoo. However, on the 7th February, Mr Willshire received a letter from the Sheik of Wadnoon, with the intelligence that the traveller had been murdered in the desert. This chief, with a somewhat suspicious solemnity, protested his own innocence, imputing the crime to a lawless tribe named the Harib, who had been bribed by the merchants of Tafilet, alarmed lest their traffic should be thus interfered with. He promised to make strict inquiry, and recover, if possible, the property of the deceased. According to a more detailed account, Mr Davidson had first met a smaller body, who extorted from him a considerable sum of money. Eight or ten days after, 100 of the Harib horsemen came up and accosted his party in the most friendly manner. Their leader then asked Mohammed El Abd, the principal native who accompanied Mr Davidson, to show him a neighbouring watering-place. They went together ; but soon after heard a musket fired ;

CHAP. XV.

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Snow on the
Atlas moun-
tains.

Apprehen-
sions of Mr.
Davidson.

Intelligence
of his death.

Attack on
him by the
Harib

CHAP. XV. and on wonder being expressed, the barbarian replied, that it was his men shooting the Christian. Mohammed represents himself as struck with horror, and declaring that he would rather have been personally the victim. The marauders, it appears, had entered into familiar conversation, in the course of which they expressed great curiosity respecting the musket ; and one of them having thus got it into his hands, immediately discharged it against its owner. They presently seized all his property, allowing, however, the natives to proceed to Timbuctoo. According to statements made by one or two individuals coming from that city, it had been the theatre of serious conflicts. The Tuaricks had been driven out, and the quarter inhabited by them burnt down. They were still, however, in great force on the road thence to Sackatoo, rendering it impossible to proceed thither with safety. The chief informant had repeatedly met both with Laing and Caillié at Timbuctoo.

Murder of
Davidson.

Disturbed
state of
Timbuctoo.

CHAPTER XVI.

Western Africa.

General View of this Coast—Dahomey—Norris and M'Leod—
 Foota Jallo—Watt and Winterbottom—Ashantee—Embassies of Bowdich and Dupuis—War—Defeat and Submission of the Ashantees—Adams' Account of Benin, Waree, and Bonny—Ephraim Town—Delta of the Niger.

THE whole coast of Western Africa within the tropics, forming a wide sweep around the Gulf of Guinea, has long been occupied by a chain of European forts, erected with a view to the traffic in gold, iron, and palm-oil, but, above all, in slaves; and since this last object has been finally abandoned by Great Britain, these stations have become to her of very secondary importance. The territory is in the possession of a number of petty states, many of which compose aristocratic republics, turbulent, restless, licentious, and rendered more depraved by their intercourse with Europeans. The interior country, extending in a direction parallel to the great central chain of mountains, of which the principal branch is here called Kong, presents nothing of that arid character stamped on so great a proportion of the African continent. The soil, copiously watered, is liable rather to an excessive luxuriance; but, where skilfully managed, it is highly fruitful. There are found, too, in this tract, several very powerful kingdoms, better organized and more improved than any near the coast. They have not, however, the slightest tincture of European civilisation; and their manners, in several important respects, are stained with habits and practices that belong to the very lowest stage of savage life.

CHAP. XVI.
 Occupation
 of Western
 Africa.

Fruitfulness
 of the soil.

CHAP. XVI.

The state of
Dahomey.

Journey of
Mr. Norris.

Abject
homage of
the chiefs.

National
anniversary.

Dahomey, the first of the greater states to which Europeans penetrated, had distinguished itself early in the last century by the conquest it then achieved of the flourishing kingdom of Whidah, situated on the Slave Coast. The victors committed the most horrible ravages ever witnessed,—reducing the country, the most fertile and beautiful then known in Western Africa, to almost utter desolation. As their king continued to exercise authority over this province, Mr Norris, in 1772, undertook a journey thither to observe the character and position of this extraordinary potentate, and to make arrangements for the benefit of the English trade. He passed through a fine district, abounding in the usual tropical productions, and rising by a gentle ascent about 150 miles inland to Abomey, the capital. He arrived at an appalling season, that of the annual Customs, when the great men were assembled from every quarter of the kingdom; and he was truly astonished to see those fierce and warlike chieftains, whose very name spreads terror throughout Africa, prostrating themselves before the monarch on the ground, and piling dust on their heads, in token of the most abject submission. This homage is yielded, not from fear, but from a blind veneration, which makes them regard their sovereign in the light of a superior being. In his name they rush into battle, and encounter their foes with Spartan intrepidity. One of them said to Mr Norris, “ I *think* of my king, and then I dare engage five of the enemy myself.” He added, “ My head belongs to the king, and not to myself; if he please to send for it, I am ready to resign it; or if it be shot through in a battle, I am satisfied since it is in his service.” The main object contemplated in this national anniversary is, that the despot may water the graves of his ancestors with the blood of human victims. These are numerous, consisting of prisoners taken in war, of condemned criminals, and even of many seized by lawless violence. The captives are brought out in succession, with their arms pinioned; and a *fetisheer*, laying his hand upon the devoted head, utters a few magical

words, while another from behind, with a large scimitar, severs it from the body, when shouts of applause ascend from the surrounding multitude. At any time when the king has a message to convey to a deceased relation, he delivers it to one of his subjects, then strikes off his head, that he may carry it to the other world; and if any thing farther occurs to him after he has performed this ceremony, he delivers it to another messenger whom he despatches in the same manner.

CHAP. XVI

Sacrifice of human victims.

Another grand object of this periodical festival is the market for wives. All the unmarried females throughout the kingdom are esteemed the property of the sovereign, and are brought to the annual Customs, to be placed at his disposal. He selects for himself such as appear most beautiful and engaging, and retails the others at enormous prices to his chiefs and nobles. No choice on this occasion is allowed to the purchaser; in return for his 20,000 cowries a wife is handed out, and, even be she old and ugly, he must rest contented; nay, some, it is said, have in mockery been presented with their own mothers. The number of wives usually kept by the king amounts to 3000, who serve him in various capacities—being partly trained to act as a body-guard, regularly regimented, and equipped with drums, flags, bows and arrows, while a few carry muskets. They all reside in the palace, which consists of an immense assemblage of cane and mud tents, enclosed by a high wall. The skulls and jaw-bones of enemies slain in battle form the favourite ornament both of his residence and of the temples. His apartment is paved and the walls and roof stuck over with these horrid trophies; and if a farther supply appears desirable, he announces to his general that “his house wants thatch,” when a war for that purpose is immediately undertaken.

Market for wives.

The king's wives.

Barbarous military trophies.

Mr M'Leod, during his residence at Whidah, in 1803, found the country still groaning under the cruel effects of Dahoman tyranny. He particularly deplores the case of Sally Abson, daughter of the late English governor by a native female, who, trained in all European

Cruel effects of Dahoman tyranny.

CHAP. XVI. accomplishments, added to them the most engaging simplicity of manners. Suddenly she disappeared, and Mr M'Leod's eager inquiries were met by a mysterious silence ; all hung down their heads, confused and terrified. At length an old domestic whispered to him that a party of the king's half-heads (as his messengers are termed) had carried her off in the night, to be enrolled among the number of his wives, and warned him of the danger of uttering any complaint.

—
Fate of Sally
Abson.

Excursion
to the
Southern
Foulahs.

A more pleasing spectacle was presented to Messrs Watt and Winterbottom, who, in 1794, ascended the Rio Nunez to Kacunda, and made an excursion to Foota Jallo, the principal state of the Southern Foulahs. This people profess the Mohammedan religion, are orderly and well instructed, display skill in working mines of iron, and in carrying on the manufacture of cloth, leather, and other African fabrics. Caravans of 500 or 600 persons were often met, carrying on their heads loads of 160 pounds weight. The article chiefly sought after is salt, which the children suck as ours do sugar ; and it is common to describe a rich man by saying he eats salt. The two principal towns, Laby and Teemboo, contained respectively 5000 and 7000 inhabitants. The king could muster 16,000 troops, whom unhappily he employed in war, or at least hunts, against twenty-four pagan nations that surround his territory, chiefly with the view of procuring slaves for the market on the coast. When the travellers represented to him the iniquity of this course, he replied, "The people with whom we go to war never pray to God ; we never go to war with people who pray to God Almighty." As they urged that in a case of common humanity this ought to make no distinction, he quoted passages from the Koran commanding the faithful to make war on unbelievers. They took the liberty to insinuate that these might be interpolations of the devil, but found it impossible to shake his reliance on their authenticity.

War and
slave hunt-
ing.

Influence of
Mohamme-
dan bigo-
try.

A more recent and memorable intercourse was that opened with the court of Ashantee. This people were

first mentioned, in the beginning of last century, under the name of Assente or Asienti, and as constituting a great kingdom in the interior,—the same was described to Mr Lucas at Tripoli as the ultimate destination of those caravans which, proceeding from that city, cross the whole breadth of Africa. Being separated from the maritime districts, however, by Aquamboc, Dinkira, and other powerful states, they did not come into contact with any European settlement. It was not indeed till the commencement of this century that these states were obliged to give way before the growing strength of the Ashantee empire, which at length extended to the borders of the Fantees, the principal people on the Gold Coast. These last were ill fitted to cope with such formidable neighbours. They are a turbulent, restless tribe, extremely apt to give offence, while in battle they are equally cowardly and undisciplined. The King of Ashantee having, not unwillingly perhaps, received from them high provocation, sent in 1808 an army of 15,000 warriors, who entered their territory and laid it waste with fire and sword. At length they came to Anamaboe, where the Fantees had assembled 9000 men; but these were routed at the first onset, and put to death, except a few who sought the protection of the British fort. The victors, on this account considering the English as allies of their enemy, turned their arms against the station, at that time defended by not more than twelve men. Yet this gallant little band, supported by slender bulwarks, baffled the fierce and repeated assaults made by the barbarous host, who were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Seized with admiration and respect for their bravery, the Ashantees now made proposals for a negotiation, which were accepted, and mutual visits were paid and returned. The English officers were particularly struck with the splendid array, the dignified and courteous manners, and even the just moral feeling, displayed by these warlike strangers. They, on their side, expressed an ardent desire to open a communication with the sea and with the British, complaining that the turbulent Fantees opposed

CHAP. XVI.

The king-
dom of
Ashantee.

The Fantee
tribe.

Brave de-
fence of the
British fort.

Dignified
manners and
just feeling of
the Ashan-
tees.

CHAP. XVI.

Treaty
between the
Ashantees
and Fantees.

the only obstacle to so desirable a purpose. A treaty was concluded, and a good understanding seemed established between the two nations. The Ashantees, however, made several successful incursions in 1811 and 1816; and on the last occasion the Fantees were obliged to own their supremacy, and engage to pay an annual tribute. The British government judiciously kept aloof from these feuds; but in 1817 a mission was sent, under Messrs James, Bowdich, and Hutchinson, to visit the capital of that powerful kingdom, and to allay some trifling dissensions which had unavoidably arisen.

Mission of
James Bow-
dich, and
Hutchinson.

These gentlemen, having set out on the 22d April, passed over a country covered, in a great measure, with natural forests, in some parts of which, where a footpath had been cut, they witnessed most beautiful scenery. Being delayed by an illness which seized Mr James, they did not arrive at Coomassie, the capital, till the 19th May, when they were surprised at its unexpected splendour. It was four miles in circumference, built not indeed with European elegance, but in a style superior to any of the maritime towns. The houses, though low and constructed of wood, were profusely covered with sculpture. The array of the caboceers, or great war-chiefs, was at once dazzling and wild. They were loaded with fine cloths, in which variously coloured threads of the richest foreign silks were curiously interwoven; and both themselves and their horses were decorated with golden beads, Moorish charms or amulets, purchased at a high price, and the whole intermingled with strings of human teeth and bones. Leopards' skins, red shells, elephants' tails, eagle and ostrich feathers, and brass bells, were among the favourite ornaments. On being introduced to the monarch, the English found all these embellishments crowded and concentrated on his own person and attendants, who were literally oppressed with large masses of solid gold. Even the most common utensils were composed of that metal. At the same time, the executioner, with his hatchet on his breast, and the execution-stool clotted with blood, gave

Splendour of
the capital.

Costly
royal decora-
tions.



Ashantee Warrior and Attendant.

a thoroughly savage character to all this pomp. The manners of the king, however, were marked with a dignified courtesy; he received the strangers cordially, and desired them to come and speak their palaver in the market-place. On the presents being carried to the palace, he expressed high satisfaction with them, as well as great admiration of the ingenious workmanship. After several other interviews he entered on the subjects under discussion, which related to some annual payments formerly made to the Fantees for permission to erect forts, as well as for the ground on which they stood; and his majesty now demanded, as conqueror of the country, that these payments should be transferred to himself. The claim was small, and seems, according to African ideas, to have been reasonable; but Mr James thought himself bound to remain intrenched in the rules of European diplomacy, and simply replied, that he would state the demand to the governor of Cape Coast. The king then

Dignified
manners of
the king.

Demands
made on the
British.

CHAP. XVI. told them that he expected they had come to settle all palavers, and to stay and be friends with him ; but now he found that their object was to make a fool of him. Considering himself insulted, he broke through the ceremonious politeness which he had before studiously maintained. He called out, "the white men join with the Fantees to cheat me, to put shame upon my face !" Mr James still remaining firm, the other became more incensed, and exclaimed, "the English come to cheat me ; they come to spy the country ; they want war, they want war !" Our envoy merely replied, "no ; we want trade ;" but the monarch's wrath increased to such a degree, that he started from his seat and bit his beard, calling out, "Shantee foo ! Shantee foo !" and added, "if a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me." A singular manœuvre now took place in the diplomatic party. Mr Bowdich, with two junior members, conceiving that Mr James' too rigid adherence to rule was endangering the preservation of peace with this powerful sovereign, resolved to supersede him and undertake the charge of the negotiation. They conducted it entirely to the satisfaction of his majesty, who concluded a treaty with them, and even made a proposal of sending two of his sons to be educated at Cape Coast Castle.

Indignation
excited by
diplomatic
formalities.

Successful
change of
tactics.

Cruel and
bloody
funeral rites

During their stay at Coomassie, the commissioners witnessed dreadful scenes, which seem to sink the Ashantee character even below the ordinary level of savage life. The Customs are practised on a scale still more tremendous than at Dahomey. The king had recently immolated on the grave of his mother 3000 victims, 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners ; and at the death of the late sovereign the sacrifice was continued weekly for three months, consisting each time of 200 slaves. The absurd belief that the rank of the deceased in the future world is decided by the train which he carries along with him, makes filial piety interested in promoting by this means the exaltation of a departed parent. On these occasions the caboceers and princes, in order to court

royal favour, often rush out, seize the first person they meet, and drag him in for sacrifice. While the Customs last, therefore, it is with trembling steps that any one crosses his threshold ; and when compelled to do so, he rushes along with the utmost speed, dreading every instant the murderous grasp which would consign him to death.

To cultivate the good understanding now established, the British government very judiciously sent out M. Dupuis, who, during his residence as consul at Mogadore, had acquired a great knowledge of Africa and its people. But, before his arrival, the ardour of their mutual affection had been cooled by the intervention of some clouds, which he had set out in the hope of dispelling ; nevertheless, the mission, upon arriving at Coomassie early in 1820, was well received. The king repeated his earnest desire to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the British nation, and withdrew such of his demands as were shown to be inadmissible. A treaty was concluded by which his claim to full dominion over the coast was sanctioned, but he agreed that the English should exercise jurisdiction within their own forts, and in their immediate vicinity.

M. Dupuis found this monarch deeply impressed with respect for white men, and also with a desire to imitate and rival the pomp of European kings. He was erecting a palace, the outside of which consisted only of large logs of timber ; but the interior was to be adorned with brass, ivory, and gold. He said, “ now white men know me, I must live in a great house as white kings do ; then I shall not be ashamed when white people come ; ”—and on another occasion, “ I must have every thing suitable, and live like a white king.” He had procured architects from Elmina to give instructions to his own subjects, who, however, performed the task in so awkward a manner, that he himself laughed at them,—exclaiming, “ Ashantees fools at work ! ” But the want of skill was compensated by their numbers : and while engaged in their labours, they suggested to M. Dupuis the singular image of a legion of devils attempting to construct a tower of Babel.

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Carelessness
of human
life.New mission
despatched.Friendly in-
tercourse
continued.Ideas of royal
pomp.Native
builders.

CHAP. XVI.

Sacrifice of
human
victims.

The envoy had the unhappiness of being resident during the "Little Adai Custom," as it was called, and understood that in one day upwards of seventy victims had been sacrificed in the palace alone. He was not present; but, waiting on the king immediately after, saw his clothes stained with blood, the royal death-stool yet reeking, various amulets steeped in gore, while a spot on the brow of his majesty and his principal chiefs indicated the work in which they had been engaged.

Refusal of the
British to
ratify the
treaty.

The government of Cape Coast Castle did not ratify the treaty concluded by M. Dupuis, who, as Major Ricketts alleges, had gone too far in acknowledging the supremacy of the king over the Fantees; that people having merely made a present of occasional sums under the pressure of circumstances, but not being bound to pay a regular tribute. It was at all events a questionable policy in the British government to interfere in the contest. They determined, however, to resist the demands of the Ashantee monarch, who, to enforce them, entered Fantee in January 1824 with a body of 15,000 men. Sir Charles M'Carthy, newly appointed governor, being ill-informed as to the strength of the enemy, marched out to meet him at the head of scarcely 1000 British, and a crowd of cowardly and undisciplined auxiliaries. The two armies encountered near the boundary stream of the Bossompra, where the English, soon deserted by their native allies, in whose cause they had taken the field, maintained the contest for some time with characteristic valour, till it was discovered that, through the negligence of the ordnance-keeper, the supply of powder was exhausted. Thus deprived of the use of fire-arms, they were surrounded by the immensely superior numbers of a warlike and desperate enemy, and after a fearful contest, the particulars of which never fully transpired, the whole army either perished on the field, or underwent the more cruel fate of captivity in the hands of this merciless foe. Only three officers, all of whom were wounded, brought the dreadful tale to Cape Coast Castle. The Ashantees then overran the whole open country,

Fatal en-
counter be-
tween the
British and
Ashantees.

laid siege to the fort, and pressed it closely for some months; but being repeatedly checked, and suffering under sickness and want of provisions, they retreated. In 1826, they again advanced to the coast; when, after a very hard contest, they were completely defeated near Accra on the 7th August. The governor then refused to grant peace unless on the condition that the king would surrender two of the royal family as hostages, and lodge 4000 ounces of gold to be employed against himself in the event of his renewing hostilities. After a long negotiation, the disputes were closed by his sending 600 ounces, with a son and nephew to be educated at the Castle.

Captain Adams, in the course of a trading voyage along the African shore, visited Benin, the capital of which is situated on a river coming from the north-east. The city is large, apparently containing about 15,000 inhabitants, and surrounded by a country extremely fertile, but not highly cultivated. The king is fetish, that is, he is worshipped by his subjects as a god, and must not on any account be supposed either to eat or sleep. Heresy against this creed is punished by instantly striking off the head of the unbeliever. With all his divine and royal attributes, however, his majesty does not disdain the occupation of a merchant, and drives a hard bargain while exchanging slaves and ivory for tobacco, which is a favourite luxury. He is accessible to strangers, provided they spread before him, as a present, a handsome piece of red silk damask. Human sacrifices are not practised to the same extent as in some other parts of Africa; yet considerable numbers are offered on the graves of great men, and four annually at the mouth of the river, to attract vessels; but such is the pestilential character of the climate, that this bloody charm brings now comparatively few slave-merchants to Benin.

Captain Adams ascended also to Waree, an insular territory, enclosed by two branches of another stream flowing through this alluvial district. It is beautiful as well as fertile, is about five miles in circuit, and appears as if it had dropped down from the clouds; for all the

CHAP. XVI.

Siege of Cape Coast Castle.

Defeat of the Ashantees and peace concluded.

Visit of Captain Adams to Benin.

Royal attributes and habits.

Ascent to Waree.

CHAP. XVI. surrounding shores consist of an impenetrable forest, rising out of a swamp. Even in the dry season the water stands on the ground a foot in depth, producing exhalations which prove excessively destructive to the European constitution, as well as to all the more delicate plants and animals that happen to be removed from the drier soils of the interior.

Damp and unhealthy country.

Chief slave market.

The Brass River, which we have described from the account of Lander, has never been much frequented by Europeans. Bonny is the chief market for slaves, which, according to Adams, were sold there to the annual amount of 20,000, the greater part of whom are brought down from the Eboe country. The town is mean, being built of stakes driven into the ground, wattled and plastered, and is surrounded by a marshy country overgrown with timber. The people have canoes capable of containing 120 individuals; they set out in parties with the sound of drums and gongs, and return in a few days with from 1500 to 2000 slaves. Salt of good quality is also manufactured, and sent into the interior.

The Calabar river

The Calabar River, though less important than that of Bonny, also affords access to a considerable trade. Lander visited Ephraim Town, the chief seat of its commerce; and in his way up the stream he was struck by the appearance of something hanging from the branch of a tree, which proved to be a human body, suspended by the middle, with the feet and hands just touching the water—a barbarous sacrifice by the pagan natives to propitiate the spirit of the river. The town, composed of houses resembling those of Eboe, appeared to contain about 6000 inhabitants. Duke Ephraim, the chief, exhibited with pride his best room, which formed indeed an extraordinary spectacle. It was “literally crammed full of all kinds of European furniture, covered with cobwebs and dust about half an inch deep. Elegant tables and chairs, sofas of a magnificent description, splendid looking-glasses, and prints of the principal public characters of England, as well as views of sea and land engagements set in handsome gilt frames, beautifully cut glass

Barbarian use of European luxuries.

decanter and glasses, glass chandeliers, and a quantity of other things too numerous to mention, were all mixed together in the utmost confusion." These are the accumulated presents received from time to time from merchants of the different European countries. This coast, extending upwards of 200 miles from Benin to Calabar, has acquired a new interest since the discovery by Lander of its forming the Delta of the Niger. All the numerous estuaries which open into the Bights of Benin and Biafra are evidently branches of that great river. The whole range of the coast presents a gloomy and uniform aspect; being every where completely alluvial, partially inundated, and covered with impenetrable forests of mangrove. The main streams are connected by creeks and smaller channels, so that there is an inland communication by water between Calabar and Benin: indeed the whole maritime territory may be considered as a cluster of islands. The character of the natives, corrupted by the long prevalence of the slave-trade, is fierce, reckless, and dissolute. Mr Boyle gives a gloomy picture of this region as "uninviting when first descried, repulsive when approached, dangerous when examined, and horrible and loathsome when its qualities and its inhabitants are known." He therefore thinks that it will never be to any great extent resorted to for trade by Europeans. The case, however, is different when it is viewed as a channel of communication with the finest regions of the interior; for in these days the use of steam will carry the navigator quickly through the lower channels of the river, where the danger from pestilential vapours and the rude character of the people is the greatest, and convey him to the more civilized and improved countries on its upper banks.

CHAP. XVI.

Presents
from
European
merchants.

Gloomy
aspect of the
coast.

Value as a
channel of
communica-
tion.

CHAPTER XVII.

Southern and Eastern Africa.

The Cape—Settlement of the Dutch—Kolben—Hope, Sparrman, Le Vaillant—Barrow; Caffres; Bosjesmans—Trutter and Sommerville—Dr Cowan and his Party—Their Assassination—Lichtenstein—Campbell's (the Missionary) First and Second Journeys—Burchell—Thompson—Invasion of the Mantatees—Zoolas—Alarm in the Colony—Great Irruption of the Caffres—Peace—Settlement of Natal—Great Emigration of Dutch Farmers—Their Conflicts with the Natives—Expedition of Dr Smith—Sir James Alexander—Eastern Africa—Conquests of the Portuguese—Their present State—English Expedition up the Zambesi—Zanzibar, Mombaza, &c.

CHAP. XVII. **THE** southern extremity of Africa has long attracted the particular attention of modern navigators. To pass its remotest boundary formed the main object of ambition with the Portuguese in their celebrated voyages of discovery along its shores. After a century spent in vain endeavours to accomplish this undertaking, Diaz obtained a view of the great promontory; but the stormy sky in which it was enveloped, and the fearful swell produced by the conflict of contending oceans, appalled even that stout navigator. He named it the Cape of Tempests, and immediately returned home with his shattered barks. The king, with a bolder spirit, substituted forthwith the appellation of the Cape of Good Hope, which it has ever since retained; yet some years elapsed before the daring sails of Gama rounded this formidable barrier, and bore across the ocean to the golden shores of India.

The southern
extremity of
Africa.

The cape
reached by
Diaz and
De Gama.

Portuguese
Indian con-
quests.

The Portuguese, engrossed by the discovery and conquest of the kingdoms of the East, and busied in lading their vessels with the produce of those opulent regions,

scarcely deigned to cast an eye on the rude border of Southern Africa, its terraces of granite, its naked Karroo plains, or the miserable kraals of the Hottentot. Their fleets, indeed, stopt occasionally for water and refreshments; but no attempts were made to occupy, and still less to colonize, this barren and unpromising country.

CHAP. XVII

Unpromising
character of
the caps.

The Dutch, a prudent and calculating people, having pushed their way into the Indian Seas, where they first rivalled and then supplanted the Portuguese, soon discovered the important advantage that might be derived from the Cape as a naval station. In 1650, they founded Cape Town,—a step which led to farther improvement; for it thereby became necessary to draw supplies of grain and provisions from the surrounding territory. When, moreover, it was found that on some neighbouring hills the vine could be reared in high perfection, a new value was stamped upon the settlement. The natives, not then destitute of bravery, but ill-armed, undisciplined, and disunited, were easily driven back, or reduced to an almost complete bondage; and hence the country, for several hundred miles in every direction, so far as it afforded any herbage, was soon covered with grazing-farms under Dutch masters.

Prudent
sagacity of
the Dutch.

Peter Kolben, who resided some years at the Cape, published a narrative, which, though in a few points liable to censure, gives by far the fullest account of the Hottentots, before they were completely weighed down by European oppression. This unfortunate race has long been proverbial throughout Europe, for presenting man in his lowest state, and under the closest alliance with the inferior orders of creation. It must, indeed, be admitted, that they take particular pains to render their external appearance the most hideous that the human body can possibly present. Grease is poured over their persons in copious streams, which, being exposed to the perpetual action of smoke, forms on their skin a black shining cake, through which its natural colour, a yellowish-brown, is scarcely ever perceptible. The use of unctuous substances in Africa forms the chief distinction of rank,—

Peter Kol-
ben's narra-
tive.

Native per-
sonal habits.

CHAP. XVII. the rich besmearing themselves with butter, while the poorer classes are obliged to tear the fat from the bowels of slaughtered animals. They assign as a reason for this singular practice an effect which has been readily admitted by judicious travellers, namely, that such a coating has a most salutary influence in defending them from the rays of the sun, and in averting many cutaneous disorders. Nature seems to have aided the task of disfiguring them, by covering the head with irregular tufts of hard coarse hair, and causing singular prominences, composed of fat, to jut out in parts where they are least ornamental. Nor do their habits of life present any thing to redeem this outward deformity. Their kraals consist of a confused crowd of little conical hovels, composed of twigs and earth, in which large families sit and sleep, without having room to stand upright. The fire in the middle fills these dwellings with thick smoke, while the floors are deeply covered with every species of filth. At festivals, when an ox or a sheep is killed, they rip it open, tear out the entrails, which they throw on the coals, and feast on them before the animal is completely dead. Yet they are a friendly, merry, hospitable race, living together in the greatest affection and harmony. The sluggish stupidity with which they are so generally taxed, seems to have been in a great measure produced by their degrading subjection to the Dutch boors. In their free state they had a republican form of polity, and *konquers* or captains of the kraal, who led them to war, which they carried on with fury. This commander usually sounded a pipe or flageolet, during which his men fought without intermission; but as soon as the music ceased they began to retreat. They direct their darts and throwing-sticks with a sure aim, surround and attack wild animals with skill and vigour, evading their springs with a dexterity which no European can equal. They tan, dress, and shape skins; make mats of flags and bulrushes; twist strings for their bows out of the sinews of animals; and even mould iron into cutting instruments with considerable expertness. Be

Universal
anointing
with unctu-
ous sub-
stances.

Repulsive
habits of life.

Friendly and
hospitable
disposition.

Great skill in
the chase.

fore they were subdued, they displayed the same passion for the dance and song which is general throughout Africa. A heavy reproach indeed lies upon them, as being destitute of all ideas of religion; and the atheist has even boasted of their insensibility in this respect, as an exception to that universal belief of mankind, which is urged against his unnatural tenet. Supposing this assertion correct, such ignorance, which must have sprung from the profoundest apathy, could not form any high authority on a subject so abstruse. But the fact itself, as in every similar case, has vanished before the light of more accurate observation. The Hottentot, it is true, had neither temples, images, nor a regular priesthood; but he believed in a supreme good Being, whom he viewed with distant adoration, and also in a little deformed and malignant power, whom he sought to pacify by gifts and sacrifices. He had the usual superstitions of unenlightened men, hailing the new and full moon not only with offerings, but with shouts, cries, and dances, prolonged throughout the night. He attached a sacred character to certain woods, hills, and rivers, which he supposed haunted by departed friends, or by the spirits of ancient heroes. Lastly, to come to the very lowest, he had a little shining beetle which he had exalted into a deity.

CHAP. XVII

—
Ideas in
reference to
religion.

Belief in
powers of
good and
evil.

About the close of last century, Southern Africa excited a particular interest among the lovers of natural history, owing to the brilliancy of its floral productions, and to those remarkable forms of the animal kingdom which, though generally diffused over that continent, could be most conveniently studied in the vicinity of the Cape. In 1778, Captain Henry Hope, who, under the authority of the Dutch government, had penetrated into the interior of the colony with a caravan of eighty-nine persons, published at Amsterdam a work containing plates of the giraffe or camelopard, the zebra, the hippopotamus, the gnu, and other animals then almost unknown in Europe. Soon afterwards, the whole region was carefully surveyed by two eminent naturalists, first

Remarkable
animal and
vegetable
productions.

- CHAP. XVII. Sparrman, and then Le Vaillant,—the one distinguished by sound sense and accurate observation, the other by the splendid colouring which he threw over the narrative of his personal adventures. These travellers viewed with admiration the elegant forms of the giraffe and the zebra, the light shape and bright eye of the spring-bok the most beautiful of antelopes, and of which herds were seen covering those desert plains as far as the eye could reach. They were struck also with the odd shapes of the gnu and the quagga, combining as it were the most opposite natures. Sparrman's hunts were not very successful : he gave chase repeatedly to the gnu, but that animal by its swift bounds eluded pursuit. Herds of zebras were seen only at a distance ; and of all the hippopotami which he attacked, he could secure only one, three weeks old. He made a full examination, however, of the rhinoceros and the quagga ; and also brought to Europe the first precise account of that wonderful and destructive insect, the *termes* or white ant. Le Vaillant, more fortunate, conveyed to France the skin of the giraffe, as well as that of a full-grown hippopotamus. He brought also a rich collection of birds, and many specimens of those beautiful flowering shrubs which spring up nowhere but amid the sands of the African desert.
- Survey of Sparrman and Le Vaillant.
- Observations on the wild animals.
- Tour of Mr. Barrow.
- Hottentot slaves.
- Mr Barrow, who in 1797, while private secretary to Lord Macartney, made a tour through the lands subject to the Cape government, communicated more important information than any of his predecessors, and exhibited for the first time a view of the social condition of this remote colony. He found the Hottentots reduced almost universally to the condition of slaves, not transferable indeed, but attached to the soil, and not on that account the better treated. Frequent use is made of a heavy leathern thong, the lashes inflicted with which are measured not by number but time. Connecting this punishment with his favourite luxury, the Dutchman orders the flogging of the culprit to continue while he himself smokes a certain number of pipes. Even when a native engages for hire, the children born during his

period of service are destined to become slaves. Nothing, in short, can more fully prove the cruel treatment of this unfortunate race, than the fact, that they do not keep up their numbers, but are gradually disappearing.

CHAP. XVII.

Diminution
of the race.

The Dutch planters or boors occupy lots of considerable extent, reaching usually some miles in every direction; yet the nearest neighbours are engaged in almost constant feuds respecting the boundaries of these vast possessions. Their dissensions must doubtless be greatly fomented by the usual mode of measuring land, which is according to the number of steps taken in walking over it. There is indeed an official pacer (*felt-wagt-meester*), who receives three dollars for every perambulation; but besides that this survey must always be more or less vague, he is alleged sometimes to take partial *steps* in support of a favourite claimant. The boor, absolute master of those wide domains, covers them with flocks and herds, the care of which he commits to his Hottentots,—obtaining thus the entire disposal of his own time, which he devotes to the most listless indolence. He makes neither milk nor butter; nor does he produce either wine, fruits, or vegetables. The pipe never quits his mouth, except to take his *sopie* or glass of brandy, and to eat three meals of mutton soaked in the fat of the large-tailed sheep, without vegetables or even bread. The good lady of the house, equally disdainful of toil, remains almost as immovable as the chair on which she sits, having before her a table always covered with hot coffee. The daughters sit round with their hands folded, resembling articles of furniture rather than youthful and living beings. No diversion, no event, breaks the monotony of this insulated existence; nor does knowledge for them “ever unrol her ample page.” A schoolmaster, indeed, usually forms part of the establishment; but as it is thought too much to maintain one for teaching only, he is expected to make himself useful in sundry other capacities. Mr Barrow even saw one of this learned fraternity yoked in a plough. Amid such varied avocations, these instructors cannot be expected to convey to their

Disputes
among the
Dutch boors.

Their
extreme
indolence.

The female
Dutch colo-
nists.

Occupations
of the school-
masters.

CHAP. XVII. pupils more than the mere elements of reading and writing. At the same time, hospitality knows scarcely any limits. With the exception of their nearest neighbours, with whom they are probably involved in boundary-feuds, any person, from whatever quarter, is welcome. The stranger opens the door, shakes hands with the master, kisses the mistress, sits down, and makes himself completely at home.

Liberal hospitality.

Visit to the Caffres.

From Graaf-Reynet, at the eastern extremity of the colony, Mr Barrow pushed forward to the country of the Caffres, it being the main object of his journey to adjust some differences between them and the European settlers. The first party he met, after passing the boundary, made the most favourable impression upon him. The females flocked and danced round the strangers, showing the utmost curiosity, and receiving with delight presents of tobacco and brass buttons, yet never trespassing on the limits of decorum. Their persons were somewhat short and stunted, and the skin of a deep glossy brown; but the features were almost European, and their dark sparkling eyes bespoke vivacity and intelligence. The men, again, were the finest figures that the traveller had ever seen, considerably above the middle size, robust and muscular, yet of the most elegant symmetry. Their deportment was easy, and their expression frank, generous, and fearless. In reply to the complaints made in regard to their encroachments upon the settlement, they averred on what appeared probable grounds, that much greater intrusions had been made by the colonists themselves, and protested their readiness to accede to any arrangement which might obviate future dissension,—stating, however, that nothing could be done but through Gaika, the great king of the Caffres. The umpires proceeded towards his residence, through a beautiful but uncultivated and somewhat entangled country. He was absent at the moment in pursuit of a band of wolves; but his wife and mother, with fifty or sixty attendants, sat round and conversed, through an interpreter, in the most agreeable manner. At length the

Fine appearance of the men.

Gaika, king of the Caffres.

monarch was seen approaching at full gallop, mounted on a handsome ox. Alighting from this singular charger, he graciously welcomed the strangers, and, sitting down with his attendants under the shade of a mimosa, entered upon business. He showed himself extremely reasonable in every respect, declaring, that whatever inroads had taken place on the frontier were without his knowledge or sanction, and he agreed at once to regulations which might put an end to future aggression. It seems probable indeed that, had the wise and conciliatory measures which Mr Barrow suggested been steadily adhered to, all collision might have been avoided with this manly and warlike race.

The Caffres are perhaps the most completely pastoral people in existence; for, owing to their roaming mode of life, their agriculture is very limited. Game is scarce, and they make no use of their extensive line of seacoast for fishing; but the management of cattle is thoroughly understood, being carried on by the men, who milk as well as tend the cows, and who, by a particular modulation of the voice, send out a herd to graze, or recall it at pleasure to the enclosures. A cow is never killed but on high occasions, for milk with roots form their standard diet. Skill is shown in several arts, such as making baskets of grass, sharpening iron by means of stones, without being able to smelt it, and dressing calf-skins for apparel. Polygamy is lawful; but as a wife costs an ox, or two cows, the practice is confined to the rich.

After returning to Graaf-Reynet, Mr Barrow passed across the Great Karroo or desert, covered with a scanty vegetation, yet presenting spring-boks, ostriches, and other wild animals, which roam in large herds, while the most beautiful flowers spring up amid the sand. He then came to the borders of the Sneuwberg, or Snowy Mountain, the streams from which cover an extensive district with luxuriant herbage. The colonists there are kept in a state of greater activity than elsewhere, by the dread of wild beasts, and of the still fiercer race of Bosjesmans, whose kraals occupy the

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Reasonable
and con-
ciliatory
measures
adopted.

Pastoral
habits of the
Caffres.

Skill in
mechanical
arts.

The Great
Karoo or
desert.

CHAP. XVII. intermediate valleys. They pursue and hunt down these unhappy creatures, as if they were the natural enemies of the human race. The traveller mentions a young fellow who had made a journey along part of that mountain-range ; and on his return, being asked if he had seen many natives, replied, with a disappointed air, that he had shot only four. These savages, in their turn, carry off all the cattle they can find, and put to a cruel death every one who falls into their hands, whether he be Dutch or Hottentot. Each throws upon the other the blame of this mutual hostility. Mr Barrow took some pains to acquire information respecting this unfortunate race. His party having succeeded in surprising a kraal, the natives sprung out of their little mat-huts with cries resembling the war-whoop of savages, and flew to the top of a neighbouring hill. From inveterate habit it was impossible to prevent some bloodshed ; but at length, by persevering kindness, several were induced to come forward and hold communication with the English. They proved to be the ugliest of human beings. Their hollow backs, projecting bellies, and prominent posteriors, caused the body to assume nearly the form of the letter S. In their condition, too, they are, of all rational beings, perhaps the most forlorn and wretched. Their only mode of obtaining food is by scrambling over the rocks after wild animals, digging the earth for unsavoury roots, devouring the larvæ of ants and locusts, and, finally, in wild foray, carrying off cattle from the adjoining plains. Yet the habits arising from this precarious subsistence create a degree of energy which does not arise when man is permitted to slumber in the lap of ease and abundance. Hence, this people indulge even in an extravagant gayety, which forms a striking contrast to the gloomy dejection of the enslaved Hottentots. On moonlight nights they dance without intermission from sunset till dawn ; and, on the prospect of fine weather, sometimes continue this exercise several days and nights. Their little arrows, tipped with poison, are shot with surprising dexterity ; and the warriors bound from rock

Cruelty towards the Bosjesmans.

Barrow's interview with them.

Modes of obtaining food.

Great energy.

to rock with an agility which baffles all European pursuit. They endure long fasts, which render their bodies usually very lank and meagre; but when they make a capture of cattle or sheep, they devour the flesh in a disgusting manner, and in amazing quantities. Mr Barrow, having given to three of them a sheep about five in the evening, saw it entirely consumed by twelve next day, when their formerly lank bellies were distended to an extraordinary size. In regard to art, it may be observed that the pictures of animals, drawn on the rocks with no inconsiderable spirit and correctness, showed at least the rudiments of that species of talent.

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Great powers
of endurance

The knowledge of Europeans respecting the Cape territory had, till this date, been confined by the Karroo or desert, and the formidable range of the Sneeuwberg beyond it. In 1801, a scarcity of cattle being felt, Messrs Trutter and Sommerville undertook an expedition with the view of obtaining a supply in some of the more remote districts. Having passed the Snow-mountain and the country of the Bosjesmans, they came to the Orange river, a broad stream flowing westward to the Atlantic, and on the banks of which were the Koras or Koranas, a pastoral people possessing numerous herds. The information here received induced them to proceed into the country of the Boshuanas, which continued to improve as they advanced, till, to their utter surprise, in the midst of the savage wildernesses of Southern Africa, they found a regular city. Lattakoo was composed of 2000 or 3000 houses, neatly and commodiously built, well enclosed, and shaded from the sun by spreading branches of the mimosa. The country around was not only covered with numerous herds, but showed considerable signs of cultivation; and the king, a venerable old man, invited them to his house, where he introduced them to his two wives. The travellers, who met every where a hospitable reception, were the objects of an eager but friendly curiosity. Their report, in fact, encouraged the idea that the golden age was renewed in the centre of Africa.

Extending
knowledge
of the Cape
territory.City of
Lattakoo.Hospitable
reception.

The Cape government afterwards undertook to follow

- CHAP. XVII. up this discovery. Lord Caledon sent Dr Cowan and Lieutenant Denovan, at the head of a party of twenty men, with instructions to strike across the continent in a north-eastern direction, and by endeavouring to reach Mozambique, to connect the two great points of African geography. They passed Lattakoo, and accounts were received from them nearly eleven days' journey beyond it, when they were in the midst of a richer and more beautiful country than they had yet seen in that part of the world. After a long and anxious interval the governor sent a fast-sailing vessel to Sofala and Mozambique, the captain of which was informed that the expedition had come to a most disastrous issue. It was stated that the party having arrived in the dominions of the King of Zaire, between Inhambane and Sofala, had been attacked in the night and cut to pieces, with the exception of two individuals. Mr Campbell was afterwards assured, that the catastrophe had taken place among the Wanketzens, a nation immediately beyond Lattakoo, where the travellers, trusting to the friendly behaviour and professions of the people, had neglected the most common precautions. The officers went to bathe, leaving one party in charge of the wagons, and another to guard the cattle. Thus split into three divisions, they were successively attacked and destroyed by the treacherous barbarians.
- Disastrous issue of the expedition.
- Treachery of the Wanketzens
- Journey of Dr. Lichtenstein.
- Frank and hospitable reception.
- Dr Henry Lichtenstein, after surveying several of the Cape districts, extended his journey to the territory of this newly discovered people, accompanied by one of the natives named Kok, who had been for some time absent from his country. The first individuals they met accosted them with such demonstrations of kindness and cordiality as conveyed the most favourable impression of their character, and relieved some apprehensions under which the doctor had laboured. The inhabitants, too, of the first village at which they arrived, received them in a manner quite frank and hospitable, though they showed rather an excessive eagerness to obtain a supply of tobacco. Crossing the river Kuruhman, and proceed-

ing by a winding path through a noble forest, they reached Lattakoo. The curiosity excited by their arrival attracted a crowd so immense as to make it impossible for the wagons to proceed ; but still the multitude seemed to be animated by the most friendly sentiments. The venerable old king next appeared, and promised to pay them an early visit. On a pipe of tobacco being presented, he began to inhale the smoke by large draughts ; and after being satisfied, handed it to his prime minister, who transmitted it to the next in dignity ; thus it passed from mouth to mouth till it reached the lowest of the attendants. The king afterwards introduced the visiter to his two wives, of whom the principal one, Makaitshoah, dazzled him by the beauty which had raised her from a low degree to the station that she now occupied. She was loaded with African finery,—a mantle trimmed with rich furs, and fastened to the shoulder by a bundle of cats' tails, sundry necklaces of bone, copper, and coral, and on one arm no fewer than seventy-two copper rings, on which she set the highest value : she displayed, and saw them counted with peculiar delight. The ladies paid a very long visit, but showed little regard for tea, which was at first presented as most suitable to their rank and sex ; while wine, and more especially brandy, were highly relished by them. In the course of a long conversation, the lot of European wives, in having each a husband to herself, became, as usual, the favourite theme ; but Makaitshoah, though she approved of the system in general, thought that in Africa, where the waste of war was so great, polygamy, to a certain extent, was necessary to keep up the numbers of the nation.

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Curiosity
excited at
Lattakoo.The favourite
queen.Favourite
beverage of
the ladies.

Dr Lichtenstein had intended to proceed considerably farther into the interior ; but his views were changed by a proposal earnestly pressed upon him by the king to accompany, and assist with his fire-arms, an expedition which his majesty was about to undertake against his neighbour Makkrakka. Finding that he could not remain without involving himself in the deadly feuds of these chiefs, he chose rather to return to the colony.

Interruption
to the pro-
secution of the
journey.



Queen of Lattakoo, Lattakoo Warrior, and two Bosjesman Hottentots.

Benevolent
journey of
Mr. John
Campbell.

Great appre-
hensions at
Lattakoo.

Mr John Campbell, animated by the benevolent desire of imparting to this people the blessings of true religion, undertook, in 1813, a mission into Southern Africa. Passing the Sneeuwberg in the direction followed by Messrs Trutter and Sommerville he reached Lattakoo, which, by a change not unusual in Africa, had been moved about sixty miles to the southward of its original situation; but the new city had not yet attained more than half the dimensions of the old. His reception was at first marked by the utmost reserve and jealousy. Not a sound was heard in the city; and he walked through empty streets to the great square in front of the palace, where several hundred men were drawn up armed and in battle-array. All this precaution was suggested by the fear that he and his companions were sent to avenge the death of Dr Cowan and Mr Denovan; but no sooner were the inhabitants satisfied that he came with no commission from government, and with no hostile object, than they crowded round him with their usual frankness, and eagerly begged for tobacco. Soon after. Mateebe

the king, entered with a numerous train of attendants, bearing spears tipt with ostrich-feathers. He did not, in passing, take any notice of the English strangers; but immediately after admitted them to an interview, though without receiving them quite so graciously as they could have wished. He particularly demurred to the proposal of founding a mission at Lattakoo, on the ground that it would interfere with the tending of their cattle and other occupations; but this being Mr Campbell's favourite object, he pressed it so earnestly, and represented in such flattering terms the superior wealth and industry of Europeans, that Matcebe at length gave his consent to the establishment of missionaries, and promised to treat them well.

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Meteebee,
king of Lat-
takoo.

The observations of this philanthropist have finally dissipated all that remained of the original illusion, which had represented this people as enjoying at once the innocence and the felicity of the primitive ages. There was indeed, as not unfrequently happens in uncivilized life, a courteous, kind, and friendly spirit towards one another. But between neighbouring tribes the enmity is as deadly, and the practices of war as barbarous, as among the rudest African hordes. The missionary, to pave the way for religious instruction, having asked one of them what was the chief end of man, received an immediate answer, "For commandos,"—the term by which they express their raids or forays undertaken for the purpose of stealing cattle. With the profit of carrying off the herds, they seek also to combine the glory of killing the owners. The number they have slain forms their chief boast; in which estimate they reckon one white equal to two blacks.

Results of
Campbell's
journey.

Idea of man's
chief end.

In 1820, Mr Campbell, supported by the Missionary Society, undertook another journey into this district. He found the Christian establishment at Lattakoo in a somewhat flourishing condition. There was a chapel capable of containing about 400 persons, and a row of good houses with gardens for the missionaries. But the friendly conduct of the natives had not been accompanied

Christian
mission at
Lattakoo.

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Degradation
of the Boshu-
anas.

with any disposition to embrace, or even to listen to their doctrines. The Boshuanas, more than any other barbarians, seem to labour under a peculiar thralldom to the senses, and an utter disregard for all lofty and spiritual ideas. Beads for ornament, cattle for use, commandos for the display of valour and activity, absorb their whole attention, and leave no room for higher objects. The number assembled to see the missionaries dine was three times greater than could ever be induced to convene to hear them preach.

Invitation
from Kossie-
king of Mas-
how.

At that town Mr Campbell met Kossie, king of Mashow, and obtained permission to visit him, which, though expressed in rather cold and haughty terms, his zeal induced him to embrace. The road lay through a country consisting neither of a naked desert like most parts of the Cape territory, nor of an impenetrable forest like some others, but of a boundless meadow of luxuriant pasture, interspersed with clumps of trees, appearing at a distance like a continued wood, but gradually opening as he approached. These fertile plains are tenanted only by a few roving Bushmen; for so incessant and destructive are the wars carried on, even among the Boshuanas themselves, that they are obliged to concentrate in the immediate vicinity of their towns. The first of these to which the missionaries came was Meribohwey, the capital of a chief named Tammahoo, where the natives rushed forth to meet them, dressed in the skins of wild beasts, painted red, and furiously brandishing their spears and battle-axes,—rather an astounding welcome to the strangers, though it was found to be all meant in kindness. They came next to Mashow, beautifully situated on a hill surrounded by a number of lesser eminences. Within a circuit of twenty miles there were twenty-nine villages, with an almost uninterrupted cultivation. The inhabitants are estimated at ten or twelve thousand, and their houses and modes of life are better than those of Lattakoo.

Reception at
Meribohwey.

Character of
the country.

From Mashow Mr Campbell passed through a country continually improving in richness and beauty, and in-

tersected by streams that appeared to direct their course to the Indian Ocean. At length he reached Kureechane, which is thought entitled to the appellation of a city; and, at all events, its construction, and the arts practised in it, were decidedly superior to any thing yet seen in Southern Africa. The natives smelted iron and copper in large clay-furnaces; their houses were surrounded with good stone-enclosures; while the walls of mud were often painted, and moulded into pillars and other ornaments. Well-fashioned vessels of earthenware were used for holding corn, milk, and similar stores; and considerable ingenuity was shown in the preparation of skins. A certain extent of land round the town was under cultivation, while a larger portion beyond was devoted to pasturage; but it was necessary that the cattle should every night be driven home for security.

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City of
Kureechane.Native
metallurgy.

At Kureechane Mr Campbell witnessed, on the largest scale, the *peetso* or council, where the assembled chiefs act so extravagantly, yet speak with so much judgment as makes it difficult to say whether they are sages or madmen. Even in their way to the meeting they indulge in strange gambols, leaping into the air and brandishing their weapons, as if to attack and sometimes to stab an enemy. The circle being formed, they join in a song, which the principal person often follows with a dance. Each chief, as he rises, prefaces his speech with three tremendous yells, sometimes imitating the bark of a dog. Several of his attendants then spring forward and dance before him,—an accompaniment never omitted, even when the age and stiffened limbs of the performers render it altogether ludicrous. At length comes the speech, replete with frankness, courage, often with a rude species of eloquence, and even with good sense. On some occasions the speakers pour the severest reproaches on the king, who retorts with bitterness, but neverresents in any other shape. The females, meantime, stand behind, and take an eager interest in the debate,—cheering those whose sentiments they approve, or bursting into loud laughter at any that they consider ridiculous.

Council of
the chiefs.Character-
istics of
native elo-
quence.

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The southern
Sahara.

Mr Campbell, on his return, took a direction somewhat to the westward, and found himself on the borders of an immense desert, which he thinks may be called the Southern Sahara. It is so extensive that a party engaged in a plundering expedition were said to have spent two months in reaching Mampoor, its opposite extremity, which was situated on the ocean. His conclusion, however, that this desert reaches nearly to the equator is very hasty, since the route he describes evidently stretched in a great measure from east to west.

Journey of
Mr. Burchell.

Mr Burchell, in 1812, made an extensive journey through this part of Africa. He did not penetrate quite so far as his predecessor ; and the account of his progress beyond Lattakoo has not yet appeared. At that city he spent a considerable time ; and his diligent observations of nature and society, animated by a fine vein of philosophical reflection, give a considerable interest to his narrative.

Distinction of
rank.

That rude equality, which had been remarked among all the tribes of the Hottentot race, was found here giving way to very marked distinctions, chiefly supported by wealth, which those in power sought the means of increasing by their incessant wars and plunder ; yet their dignity is not accompanied with that haughty separation from the inferior classes which exists in Europe. Mateebe, called here Mattivi, chief or king, used to squat on the ground, chatting and exchanging pipes with the lowest of his people. Although, of course, their manners boast no great refinement, they are neither boisterous nor vulgar ; but a frank and easy deportment distinguishes all of them. Industry is held in honour ; the chiefs guard the cattle, while the women build houses, cultivate the ground, and prepare clothes and furniture. On one occasion they gave good proof of their honesty ; for, when the traveller's oxen had run away and mingled with immense herds of their own, they sought them out and brought them back to him. In begging, however, they are most ceaseless and importunate. At his first entrance they observed a

Frank and
easy native
manners.

certain degree of ceremony, and only one solitary cry for tobacco was heard ; but this feeling of delicacy or decorum soon gave way. Mattivi himself made a private request that the presents intended for him should not be seen by the people at large, by whom they would soon be all begged away. They seemed to have more pride in what they procured by solicitation than in a thing of greater value if received as a spontaneous gift. There was hardly any appearance of police ; even murder passed with impunity, though among themselves it was not frequent. They had no temples, and nothing which he thinks can be called religious worship ; but, in return, they had every form of superstition.

The last visiter to Lattakoo was Mr Thompson, who, in 1823, found that city in a state of great danger and alarm. Rumours increased that a host of black warriors were coming from the north and east, who were said to be plundering and destroying every thing before them. They had already sacked Kureechane ; and being repulsed from Melita, capital of the Wanketzens, were marching directly upon Old Lattakoo, whence, it was apprehended, they would advance to the modern city. It was added that they were cannibals, and led by a giantess with one eye ; though, amid all this exaggeration, the reality of the danger was undoubted. The Boshuanas immediately summoned a *peetso*, and formed the resolution of going out to meet the invader ; but all who knew them were aware that they would fight only by ambuscade and under cover, and would flee as soon as the enemy should make a serious attack. The missionaries, in this extremity, made great exertions to save the nation. One of them hastened back to implore the aid of the Griquas, a people bordering on the English colony, and who had learned the use of fire-arms from the Europeans. Mr Thompson and another went out to trace and report the progress of this formidable inroad. On reaching the old town they found it silent and uninhabited, like the most desolate wilderness ; while the pots boiling on the fires showed that its desertion was

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 Importunate
 native beg-
 ging.

Visit of
 Thompson to
 Lattakoo.

Anticipated
 invasion.

Exertions for
 efficient aid.

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Approach of
the Mantatees.

recent, and that the enemy were probably at a very short distance. Notwithstanding, they continued to ride on, till, arriving at the top of a hill, their guide cried out, "The Mantatees!" who were in fact seen moving in an immense mass along the valley beneath. It was necessary to put spurs to their horses, in order to escape the hazard of being surrounded.

General
panic at Lattakoo.

The arrival of the traveller at Lattakoo spread a general alarm; for so rapid was the Mantatee march, that only a little time could elapse before they would reach the city. The queen, with her female attendants, and the principal chiefs, rushed into the house to ask the advice of the missionaries in this fearful crisis. The general opinion was in favour of flight. Even the warriors, who had been poisoning their arrows and practising the war-dance whole nights without intermission, gave up all hope of successful resistance, and were preparing to follow the long files of oxen, on which the inhabitants were already placing their most valuable effects. Suddenly a cloud of dust was seen in the south, which, on its nearer approach, announced the first division of Griqua horse coming to their aid. Hereupon, all who were endued with any portion of courage determined to remain and face the enemy. The allies were received with unbounded exultation; many oxen were killed and roasted, and even at this critical moment the two parties gave themselves up to feasting and jollity. Their security increased when notice was received that the Mantatees still remained at Old Lattakoo, consuming the cattle and provisions found in that place. Several of the missionaries then set out to endeavour to open a negotiation. On coming within sight of the foe they rode forward in a peaceful manner, inviting them by signs to a conference; when instantly the savages raised a hideous yell, and rushed forward so rapidly, throwing their spears and clubs, that the Christian plenipotentiaries found the utmost difficulty in galloping out of their reach.

Arrival of
Griqua allies.

Unsuccessful
attempt at
negotiation.

The allied force now came up, and on the following

morning offered battle to the vast army of the Mantatees. Their aspect was truly frightful. They were almost quite black, with only a girdle round the loins; their heads were crowned with ostrich-plumes; they had numerous brass rings about their necks and legs, and were armed with spears, javelins, battle-axes, and clubs. The whole body, supposed to amount to at least 40,000, rushed forward in an extended line, endeavouring to enclose the little troop opposed to them. The Boshuanas gave way as soon as they were seriously attacked; the Griquas, on the contrary, kept up a close fire, which stunned the enemy, who still, however, continued to advance. The horsemen galloped back to some distance, then alighted, and again alternately fired and retreated, repeating this manœuvre for several miles. The Mantatees pressed on with the utmost fury, confident, if they could once come to close quarters, of annihilating in an instant the small body opposed to them; but finding that all efforts were vain, and seeing their bravest warriors falling rapidly, they paused, and began slowly to retire. The Griquas pursued, but were several times exposed to extreme danger by the enemy turning suddenly round and renewing the combat. At length the Mantatees set fire to Lattakoo, and retreated through the flames. The missionaries were now deeply shocked by the base and barbarous conduct of the Boshuanas, who, after their pusillanimous behaviour in the field, began not only to plunder, but to butcher the wounded as well as the women and children left on the field; nor was it without difficulty that they succeeded in saving some of these defenceless objects.

CHAP. XVII.
Offer of battle
to the Mantatees.

Success of
the Griquas.

Barbarous
conduct of
the Boshuanas.

The name Mantatee, which signifies wanderer, does not apply in its literal meaning to this desolating horde. They appeared to be a nation of Caffre tribes inhabiting the country around Cape Natal. They had been impelled to this inroad in consequence of being driven from their own possessions by the Zoolas, a still more warlike and powerful race, who with their ferocious chief Chaka were now first brought to the knowledge of Europeans.

Origin of the
Mantatees.

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Division of
the invaders.

The invaders after their defeat separated into several detachments, one of which settled among the Kureechanes, while another very numerous body directed their march against those Caffre tribes who are immediately contiguous to the colony. The latter, struck with terror, began to seek refuge within the English border; and it seemed certain that, in case of defeat, which without aid was the most probable issue, the whole nation would follow. This would have been a most distressing occurrence, as there was neither space nor food for their herds; while it would have been inhuman, not to say difficult, to thrust them back by force against the spears of their enemies. The governor, therefore, and Sir George Murray then colonial minister, decided that the invading bands must be repelled by force if necessary; at the same time that a friendly adjustment should if possible be made.

English co-
operation
against
them.

The first body, consisting of about 7000, entered the territory of the Tambookies, a Caffre tribe friendly to the English. Major Dundas, landrost of the county of Somerset, marched to their aid; and though his party amounted only to twenty-four men, their fire chiefly decided the contest against the assailants, who retreated with such precipitation that the danger was considered as over for the present. Soon, however, Colonel Somerset, who commanded on the frontier, learned that they were again approaching in much greater force, and were believed, though erroneously, to be the conquering race of the Zoolas. That officer, therefore, with about a thousand men, took the field, and found them, to the estimated number of 20,000, strongly encamped on a rising ground. About 26,000 of the Caffres joined him; but, though making a most formidable appearance, they acted merely as spectators, and left to him all the danger as well as the glory of the contest. It was maintained by the enemy with the utmost fury and obstinacy upwards of seven hours, when they were obliged to give way at all points; the Caffres, then taking courage, began to massacre the women and children, but were

Colonel
Somerset's
force.

stopped in their savage career. The Mantatees made no further movements; but parties of them, under the various titles of Monguanas, Fingoes, Fetcani or Ficani, settled in the unoccupied districts, seeking to conciliate the natives, by whom they were reduced to a certain degree of subjection.

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Settlement
of the Manta-
tees.

The colony remained in tolerable tranquillity till the great irruption made by the Caffres themselves in 1834, the cause of which has been the subject of much controversy. Some brand it as completely unprovoked, the result of indomitable ferocity and treachery; while others represent the people as simple and peaceful, but goaded to violence by accumulated wrongs. The latter opinion, though their domestic deportment be friendly and hospitable, seems quite untenable, when we consider the frequent wars which rage among themselves as well as the other Caffre and Boshuana tribes. Mr Kay the missionary, an advocate of their cause, admits that till lately every expedition was stained by the indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. Mr Shaw, too, who appears equally friendly, allows that the glowing descriptions of the generous and noble-minded Caffres are very misleading; that they have very indistinct notions of the rights of property; and that they are fearfully reckless as to the destruction of human life. It could not be doubted, therefore, when the rich Dutch and English pastures came into contact with theirs, which had even been pushed back in order to make room for them, that they would feel little scruple in snatching any opportunity of appropriating to themselves the straggling flocks and herds of the Europeans. Sir James Alexander states, that in one year of profound peace 3000 head of cattle had been carried off. The chiefs imputed all to lawless members of the tribe, whom they could not control; which might be true, but the belief in the colony was otherwise. The remedies there employed were, however, of a very doubtful character. Small detachments were stationed along the frontier, who, on an alarm of cattle being stolen, sallied forth, accompanied, in most cases,

Irruption of
the Caffres.

Cruel
massacres.

Carrying off
of cattle.

CHAP. XVII. by armed burghers and Hottentots, following closely the *spoof* or trace of the marauders ; and if, as usually happened, they were unable to reach them, they seized upon an equal or even greater number of cows from the nearest *kraal*, the owners of which were perhaps wholly innocent. Thus, as Governor D'Urban observes, there had arisen a sort of system, or rather "no-system," which required the most thorough reform.

Assigned boundary of the colony. In 1819, when a war broke out, in which the Caffres were vanquished, a strong step was taken to prevent if possible any future collision. The Great Fish river was fixed on as the boundary of the colony, the Keiskamma as that of the natives, while the intermediate space was to remain neutral ground. Unfortunately great part of it was covered with rich pastures, the view of which, to those whose herds were multiplying beyond the means of supporting them, was a strong temptation. Grants were made to several of the colonists ; after which the Caffres could not, without an ill grace, be refused permission to occupy a few districts most conveniently situated for them. Thus coming into contact, a misunderstanding ensued ; and, in 1829, an irregular incursion having been made by Macomo, son to Gaika, he and his followers were ordered by Sir Lowry Cole to be driven from a fine settlement which they had occupied upon the Kat river. They seemed at first intimidated ; but their inroads were soon after renewed, and in the course of four or five months 5000 cattle were carried off. A most hostile spirit was understood to prevail ; and at a general meeting plans were formed for a combined attack upon the colony, though the consent of Gaika could not be obtained. In a few months the panic subsided, and the governor allowed them to occupy a portion of the territory, on condition of peaceable behaviour, and of aiding in the recovery of stolen property. The conduct of the British government, however, was marked by a strange mixture of rashness and vacillation. In November 1833, a numerous body, under Tyalie, a chief intimately connected with Macomo, were,

Unprincipled reprisals.

Causes of collision.

Impolitic vacillation

on the ground of some recent depredations, ordered to be expelled ; and notwithstanding every remonstrance, this mandate was executed, though they were obliged to leave their crops still green on the ground. Yet in the course of the succeeding year, two successive indulgences were granted ; but these being abused, or objected to by the civil commissioner, were followed by fresh expulsions. The last one was enforced with great rigour,—the habitations being burned, and the inmates driven across the frontier at the point of the bayonet. In these successive removals, severe sufferings were endured, which, combined with the proud and vindictive character of the people, could scarcely fail to incite them to some violent irruption.

Although the colonial government might have foreseen the discontent which these proceedings would excite, they were very slow in taking the alarm. It was understood that a general meeting of chiefs had been held at Tyalie's kraal, where plans had been laid for an extensive inroad. Yet both he and Macomo, on being questioned, denied any hostile feeling, professing that their object was merely to adjust some internal concerns. But depredations became more frequent, and were usually traced to the tribes of these two chiefs. The regular force on the frontier was only 400 British infantry and 200 mounted Hottentots, to defend a line of country more than a hundred miles long. On the 3d August another grand assembly was held, such as was never called but upon momentous occasions. Governor D'Urban seems to have been aware that the expulsions must have acted powerfully in producing this excitement ; but he had caused communications to be made to the chiefs, promising that he would visit them soon, and endeavour to adjust all differences in a manner mutually satisfactory ; and with the usual dissimulation of savages they had met this advance with friendly professions. He had also understood that Dr Philip was entering into fuller explanations on the subject, though this appears to have been a mistake. He therefore listened somewhat slowly

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Summary
expulsion.Blindness to
the danger.Inadequate
British force.Dissimula-
tion of the
natives.

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Increasing
depredations.

to Colonel Somerset's reports of this daring spirit, and the defenceless state of the frontier.

About the beginning of December 1834, the depredations became bolder and more harassing than ever ; but not being supposed to result from any combined movement, they seemed only to call for some additional checks. About the 20th, however, the Kat river settlement, formerly Macomo's, was overrun by several thousands ; and in a few days the colony was entered in such force at every point, as made it evident that a general invasion had been organized. Before the end of the year, the Caffres, estimated at 20,000, made a complete sweep of the whole territory,—driving away the cattle, burning the houses, and slaying every man who did not flee before them. Somerset, seeing himself opposed to so overwhelming a force, withdrew the frontier posts, and concentrated his troops at Graham's Town, where the streets were barricaded, wagons drawn across, and cannon planted in proper positions. The barbarians did not venture to attack the place ; but the entire region, covered with numerous flocks and herds, was converted in a few days into a complete desert. Sir B. D'Urban estimates the loss at 5438 horses, 111,418 cattle, and 156,878 sheep. The women and children, contrary to former usage, were spared, but the number of men murdered is stated to have been about forty.

Overwhelm-
ing Caffre
force.

Prompt pro-
ceedings of
the governor.

The governor, on receiving this disastrous intelligence, immediately forwarded by sea and in wagons the only battalion and all the supplies he could spare, and despatched Colonel Smith, his second in command, to take charge of all the border districts. That officer exerted himself so actively, calling out and mounting the burgher force, and inspiring a courageous spirit, that on the 8th January he was able to take the field, and drive back the enemy at every point, the chiefs Enno and Tyalie with difficulty making their escape. On the 14th the governor himself arrived, and immediately began preparations for carrying the war into the country of the assailants. His regular force, however, did not exceed

1156 rank and file of all arms, while the invasion could not be attempted with less than 3000; and 2000 must be left for the defence of the frontier. This number was completed by drawing levies from the Hottentots, who, it appears, are easily trained into good soldiers, and from the Dutch burghers, who are stout dragoons and excellent marksmen. It was previously necessary to clear the fastnesses between the Great Fish and Keiskamma rivers, where a numerous body lay posted, with the view, it was conjectured, of allowing the English to pass into Caffreland, and of then rushing in upon the colony. Smith with 1100 men was sent on this important service; and on the 11th he found them encamped on the eastern bank of the Fish river, along a chain of wooded heights intersected by deep *kloofs* or ravines. Positions were taken to attack them from different points early next morning; and it was then only that the troops were discovered by the enemy, who raised cries of alarm, and hastily drove their cattle into the bush. The British, however, after clearing the kloofs with artillery, pushed up their sides, and penetrated into the entangled forest. The savages made a determined resistance both with spears and muskets; but they were completely driven out, and much property recovered. On the following days they presented themselves only in detachments, and by the 16th had entirely disappeared. The English took about 4000 cattle, after having had twelve men killed and eleven wounded.

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Dutch and
Hottentot
levies.

Collision
with the
Caffres.

The enemy continued to make incursions with partial success; but on the 25th the invading force was completely organized,—a strong body being left under Colonel England to cover the frontier. On the 26th the troops were put in motion, and on the 31st crossed the Keiskamma. Here the large-limbed Dutchmen, the Hottentot infantry, the mounted rifles, the 72d Highlanders sounding the pibroch, and the guides riding with hatbands of leopard skins, formed a varied and picturesque group. On entering Caffreland, not a single native was to be seen, and they marched on without

Organization
of the Eng-
lish forces.

CHAP. XVII. resistance, only one attempt being made to distract their attention by an inroad into the colony, which, however, was found too strongly guarded. At length they approached the mountains, within the recesses of which the Caffres with all their stock were closely concealed. It was determined to retaliate the destruction of houses which they had made in the settlement; and hut after hut was set on fire till the atmosphere was filled with an immense conflagration. The British then dashed into the heart of the fastnesses, and a straggling contest of some days ensued, during which the enemy did not show themselves in any large body, but defended their strongest posts, and made attacks on detached stations. Captain Murray, in carrying the summit of a hill, was wounded with five of his men. By the 10th, however, the savages had been dislodged from all their positions; 15,000 cattle had been driven into the camp, which became "one vast Smithfield of lowing kine;" and the troops began their march upon the territory of Hintza, the most powerful of the chiefs, and lord paramount of all the Amakosa tribes.

Mountain stronghold of the Caffres.

Dislodgment of the Caffres.

Proceedings against Hintza.

This leader had taken no open part in the war, but even continued to make professions of friendship. It was however ascertained, that he had secretly approved of the insurrection; that many of his people had joined it; and that vast numbers of the stolen cattle had been received into his territory. Repeated messages were sent early in the contest, calling upon him to separate from the other tribes; but of these he took no notice. It was determined, therefore, to march into his country, and exact at once satisfaction and restitution. On the 15th April, the British arrived on the border stream of the Kai or Kye, when a tall Caffre appeared on the opposite hill, calling out, "Do you know what river this is? We don't want to fight with you." This remonstrance, however, did not prevent them from conveying across the troops, guns, and wagons, which without resistance ascended the opposite heights. Notice was sent to the chief, intimating, that the English would not now retire with-

out having seen him ; and five days only were allowed to prove whether he were friend or foe. It was ordered, meantime, that the soldiers should march as through a friendly country, abstaining from all violence, or seizure of cattle. But nine days having elapsed without any appearance of Hintza, war was proclaimed against him ; and the Fingoes or Ficani, already mentioned as having been partially settled in this district, were taken under our protection. The work of plunder was recommenced, and in the course of a few days many thousands of oxen were swept into the camp. At length three counsellors galloped in, saying that the great chief sued for peace. They then returned ; and on the top of a neighbouring hill forty horsemen were seen, among whom was conspicuous the figure of Hintza himself. Next morning, a cloud of dust announced his approach, and two officers being sent to reconnoitre, he came forward and shook hands with them. He was then followed into the camp by all the forty, wildly attired in skins of sheep, bulls, and leopards.

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Negotiations
with the
chief.Hintza sues
for peace.

After the first reception, the governor's demands were briefly stated ; that fifty thousand cattle and a thousand horses should be delivered up by two instalments ; compensation made for certain outrages ; and the Fingoes, regarded as British subjects, to be no longer molested. Forty-eight hours were allowed to consider these terms ; at the end of which period, Hintza, though with evident reluctance, agreed to them, offering even, it is said, to remain as a hostage for their fulfilment. The chief was taken at his word, and when, on the 2d May, the troops began their march back to the colony, he was conveyed along with them under a strict guard. He studiously sought, however, as might indeed have been expected, to evade the stipulations ; and while he sent public messages to the other chiefs, desiring them to submit, gave private intimation to pay no regard to them, as he was a prisoner. Repeated attempts were made to effect his escape ; and he at one time succeeded, but was pursued, and fell under repeated wounds.

Reparation
demanded of
him.Secret
duplicity.

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Original
plans of the
governor.

The province
of Adelaide
formed.

Its relin-
quishment
by the home
government.

Subsequent
tranquillity.

The governor had set out with the intention of giving a severe lesson to the Caffre nation, but without making any change in the relative boundaries. After witnessing, however, the sufferings of the frontier districts, and imbibing, perhaps, a portion of the excited spirit prevalent there, he determined upon extending the colony to the river Kye, thus adding to it 7000 square miles, which had been tenanted by about 73,000 natives. The original intention seems to have been to eject them, and settle in their room the Fingoes, with some other friendly tribes; but the Caffres, on condition of remaining on their territory, expressed a willingness to live as British subjects, and under our laws. This arrangement was finally adopted; the ceded district was formed into the province of Adelaide, and the seat of government fixed at King William's Town, on the Buffalo. The chiefs Mocomo, Tyalie, and others, being established as magistrates, were entitled to draw a tribute in cattle, but divested of their arbitrary power. This system was actually established, and, according to Colonel Smith's report, the natives were happy under it, and improving in civilisation. The government at home, however, on receiving full intelligence, considered this extension of territory as contrary to their policy in regard to the colonies, and sent instructions to prepare for its relinquishment. D'Urban strongly remonstrated against this step, as injurious both to the settlement and to the natives; but Lord Glenelg's views continuing unaltered, directions were given in December 1836 for the evacuation. Very conflicting opinions have prevailed on the subject; yet it is impossible to question the humane and honourable motives by which government were actuated, and it seems very doubtful how far the apparent contentment of the Caffres under the British yoke could be considered either sincere or durable.

For some time after this event, the colony remained in a state of tolerable tranquillity. The territory beyond it, however, particularly the country of Natal, was the theatre of some very striking events. To illustrate these we must look back to some earlier transactions.

In 1823, Messrs Farewell and Thompson, while trading on the south-western coast of Africa, visited the bay of Natal, and were so much pleased with its appearance that they immediately planned an establishment. The former repaired to the Cape, where, in May 1824, he addressed a letter to the governor, Lord Charles H. Somerset, setting forth the advantages of the place, and requesting permission to convey thither twenty-five persons. This application was granted, on condition that no territorial acquisition should be made without the express sanction of government. He went accordingly; but a long time having elapsed without any intelligence, an alarm was excited, which induced Mr King, a friend of his newly arrived at the Cape, to fit out a vessel and sail to Natal. Though unfortunately shipwrecked, he found the settlement tolerably prosperous. He contrived to build a small schooner, which was sent with produce to Algoa Bay, but, being without register, was there seized and left to decay. This proceeding, which appears very extraordinary, having cut him off from maritime intercourse with the Cape, Mr Farewell attempted to open a communication by land; when a chief, hostile to Chaka, and jealous of Europeans, attacking him on the road, murdered him, with several of his party. Others, however, were not deterred from following; and a regular intercourse, including a traffic in ivory and other articles, was established. In the course of these journeys, the travellers observed a tract of country extending along the coast from the Umgane to the Umzimvoobo, to a considerable distance inland, and comprehending about 20,000 square miles. Although from recent disturbances nearly unoccupied, it appeared to them superior as a grazing country to any they had ever seen. Water, which is the chief want in the Cape territory, was here in superabundance. The surface consisted either of large plains covered with luxuriant grass, or of low undulating knolls connected together by rich meadows.

Chaka, meantime, who had spread such desolation throughout Southern Africa, fell in 1828 a victim to his

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Establish-
ment at
Natal
planned.

Prosperity of
the settle-
ment.

Important
coast terri-
tory.

Fall of
Chaka.

CHAP. XVII. own ferocity. A strong body of troops, whom he sent to
 Tyraunical barbarity. attack a neighbouring tribe, were surprised and driven
 back with severe loss, when the enraged tyrant ordered
 2000 women, the wives of his beaten men, to be put to
 death at the rate of 300 a-day. This shocking barbarity
 roused general indignation, a conspiracy was formed,
 which included his own brothers, and he was forthwith
 assassinated. Dingaau, his successor, seems to have been
 His successor Dingaau. less warlike, leaving the neighbouring countries in com-
 parative tranquillity ; though from Captain Gardiner's
 narrative the same savage habits appear still to prevail.
 The sovereign never marries, and notwithstanding his
 numerous concubines, no one sees or hears of his having
 a child, while it would be death to inquire. A fearful
 solution of this mystery was given when a woman brought
 to him an infant, in the hope, seemingly, of melting him
 by its appearance : the monster murdered on the spot
 first the child and then the mother. When a chief,
 Savage barbarity. through political jealousy, is put to death, all persons
 having the remotest connexion with him share his fate.
 Dingaau, having ordered one of his brothers to execution,
 commanded ten villages to be destroyed. His captain
 called the inhabitants together on friendly pretexts, and
 when the whole were assembled, each of his party stabbed
 his neighbour, and very few escaped. Yet this chief con-
 tinued friendly to the Europeans, who, to the number of
 thirty, still occupied the station at Natal. About 2500
 natives had clustered round them, and more would have
 sought their protection ; but the tyrant, viewing this
 arrangement with great jealousy, exacted an engagement
 that no more should be received. By a reversal of the
 usual order of things, the Africans cultivated the ground,
 while the Europeans employed themselves solely in
 hunting the elephant and the buffalo, the one for his
 tusks and the other for his hide. In 1835, with the
 sanction of Sir B. D'Urban, they laid out the plan of a
 town, to which his name was affixed, while the adjacent
 country received that of Victoria.

The Dutch farmers, from the time that the intelli-

gence was received of the unoccupied territory near Natal, had been hankering after a removal thither ; an inclination which was strengthened by the unsettled state of the Caffre frontier, and the disastrous inroad which followed. The governor, in remonstrating against the restoration of the province of Adelaide, strongly urged that a great emigration would certainly follow such a measure ; and this actually took place in 1836, when about 3000 passed the frontier and proceeded southward. They came, however, upon the lands of Moselekatsi, chief of the Matabili, a branch of the Zoolas, who, not relishing this inroad, sent a powerful force against them ; and though, by intrenching themselves behind their wagons, they secured their lives, many of their sheep and cattle were carried off. Having obtained reinforcements from the Griquas and elsewhere, they, in January 1837, surprised the chief in his town of Mosega, killed several hundreds with almost no loss to themselves, and completely redeemed their stolen herds. The intelligence of this victory induced other parties to follow, and Sir James Alexander estimates, probably with some exaggeration, that before April, 20,000 persons had left the colony. They met no farther obstruction in their progress till they located themselves in the territory of Dingaan. This chief, who had been pleased with the settlement of a few Europeans upon a corner of his kingdom, felt very differently when he learned the arrival of a little nation. As usual, he scrupled not to employ treachery as well as violence. About 100 of the principal farmers, with Retief their head man, being induced to visit him, were received with the utmost courtesy, and invited to witness a splendid dance prepared for their recreation. They were prevailed upon, on this festive occasion, to lay aside their arms, and witness the dramatic exhibitions of about 2000 Zoolas who, upon a signal given, rushed on the strangers, six upon each man, and in a few minutes murdered them all. They then hastened to the Dutch camp, attacked it by surprise, and could not be repulsed, till several hundreds had been killed, and 20,000 cattle re-

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Plans of the Dutch farmers.

Extensive emigration.

Location of the emigrants.

Treachery murder of the farmers.

CHAP. XVII.

Reprisals by
the emigrant
colonists.

moved. The colonists, having mustered their strength to avenge this massacre, made two successive inroads, one of them from Port Natal, but were repulsed with loss. In a third, where they encountered a force of 10,000 men, they boasted of a victory with the loss of only three of their number; yet they did not recover their stolen property. Both these hostilities with the natives, and some perplexing questions respecting the tenure of land continued for some time to check the prosperity of the settlement. But at length Natal rose so far above adversity, as to compete with Albany the character of a desirable field of emigration.

Exploration
of Southern
Africa.

Amid these tragical events, the exploration of Southern Africa was not overlooked. In 1835, Dr Andrew Smith set out from the Cape on a tour along the interior of the eastern coast, having chiefly in view the advancement of natural history. He spent about two years in this expedition,—visited the sources of the rivers Caledon and Maputa, and reached the 23d degree of latitude. He made some important collections; but no detailed account of his observations has yet been laid before the public.

Expedition
of Sir James
Alexander.

A more recent expedition, embracing a considerable extent of new country, was performed in 1836 and 1837 by Captain Sir James Alexander. That gentleman, employed for purposes of discovery as well by government as by the Geographical Society, had arrived in the beginning of 1835; but, hearing of the formidable war just broken out on the eastern frontier, his zeal for the service prompted him at once to join the army. Other objects diverted his attention till about the middle of 1836; and he then considered his original plan of proceeding north-eastward as superseded by the travels of Dr Smith which have just been noticed. The only direction left for him appeared to be the north-west, where he might trace the unknown courses of the Orange and Great Fish rivers, and survey the countries of the Namaquas and Damaras, the latter known only by name. For this journey he provided a wagon, a team of oxen, furniture and arms, with seven servants.

Proceeding from the colony, his route led him through

the outer district of Clanwilliam, 300 miles long, 200 CHAP. XVII.
broad, but having a population of only 8400. There District of
were 370 farms surveyed, but so rudely as in many cases Clanwilliam.
greatly to overlap each other; there were also many unsurveyed. This wide region endures severe privations; there is not a medical man from the Cape to its farthest point, a space of 400 miles; not a clergyman for a great part of the distance; and no independent civil authority nearer than Worcester, 80 miles from the frontier. The state of manners and morals in the settlement showed marks of these deficiencies. At its extremity, on the slope of the lofty range of the Kamiesberg, is the missionary station of Lily Fountain, who have on their books 800 of the wild Namaquas, whom they have not only instructed in religion, but trained in some degree to agriculture and the arts of life.

From this station the traveller proceeded to the mouth of the Gariep or Orange river, in the neighbourhood of which he found that people, a good-natured and indolent race, cultivating nothing except a little tobacco, of which they are inordinately fond. They had no market for cattle unless with the whale-ships at Angra Piquena, and complained that, in attempting to drive them to the Cape, they were maltreated by the boors. The river exhibits very fine scenery, sometimes spread into translucent lakes, elsewhere rushing over a rocky bed, or forming a grand cataract; but these features, however picturesque, must, we apprehend, render it unfit for navigation. At one point it was so shallow, that he waded across. The mouth was announced by a line of breakers appearing between two sandy heights crowded with penguins and gulls—outside lay the ocean. Returning by a different route, he came to a large deposit of copper ore easily accessible, and which, when assayed, was found very rich. As there is an abundance of wood for smelting, it will doubtless one day be turned to good account.

Mouth of the
Orange river.

Mineral
wealth.

On the 16th November Sir James again left Lily Lily Fountain left.
Fountain, following a line considerably more towards the interior. He passed two mission stations, the resi-

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Warm Bath
village.

dents at which occasionally suffered severe hardships ; and one of them, Mr Trelfall, had been lately killed by the natives. A ford was found across the Orange river ; and on the other side was Warm Bath, the head village of Abram, a chief who ruled to a great distance northward. Though sulky, brutal, and ignorant, he had desired a missionary, mainly, as was suspected, to increase his importance and procure presents of cloth and arms ; however, Mr Jackson occupied the most remote station in this direction. As our author saw more of the Namaquas, he perceived more clearly their scanty knowledge, which was confined to the pursuing of wild beasts and the training of pack-oxen. They could not tell their age, nor distinguish one year from another ; some had no names ; few could count five ; and still fewer could number their ten fingers. He asserts that they have no religious ideas ; yet immediately adds that they worship a great father, and believe in witchcraft.

Northern
route.

On the 18th, Sir James moved northward, escorted to a certain distance by Abram and several of his people. They passed some streams which ran towards the east into the Great Fish River ; and though at this season these were only dry beds, yet, by digging into them, water was always found. At one point they came in contact with a greater river, called the Oup ; but it too did not run constantly, though there were always pools in its channel. The banks being extremely rugged, it was necessary to strike westward ; and in the midst of a very arid country they found the remains of the missionary station of Bethany, which had been abandoned on account of repeated outrages inflicted by the natives. They then descended into a beautiful and verdant plain, which extended a considerable space ; when in the eastern horizon appeared the long range of the Unuma or Bulb mountains, 2000 or 3000 feet high, the intermediate ground being watered by the Koanquip, a tributary of the Great Fish River.

The Oup
river.

The Bosjes-
mans tribe.

In ascending into that lofty region, they found themselves among a new tribe, the Bosjesmans or Boschmans, who nearly resemble those so well represented by Mr

Barrow, though with persons much fuller, and in better condition. They have neither flocks nor herds, but live entirely by hunting and a little fishing. They are at once daring and skilful in the chase; and some of them have the art of frightening away lions from their prey after their hunger has been somewhat appeased, when they seize what remains. One man even said, "I live by the lions;" but Sir James learned afterwards, that this person, in dealing with a lioness, not observing she had whelps, was killed by her, notwithstanding his charming. They have a mode of hunting bees, tracing them by the drops of wax to the hive, which is immediately plundered. Many had never seen white men, whom they regarded with some disgust, seeming to suspect that the skin had been flayed off. Even those who lived near the missionary stations viewed the large wagons used in southern Africa as enormous living creatures; and hence they leaped across their tracks, to avoid the peril of touching them. One of these machines having been broken and abandoned, a Bosjesman came and told the missionary, that his great pack-horse, having lost a leg and eating no grass, could not live long. Their remoteness from Europeans has not preserved them from habits of plunder, nor even from murder, while their moral ideas are in some respects the most degraded.

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Appearance
and habits.Ideas regard-
ing white
men.

At the extremity of this wild region, the traveller came to another still worse, the desert of Tans, in which for sixty miles there was not a single watering-place, and where the soil, consisting chiefly of gray sand, presented only single blades of grass waving in the hot wind. He had engaged several Bosjesman guides, who, even in such tracts can find water in the crevices of the rocks; but a signal-gun having been fired on missing one of his party, they fled with such precipitation that they could not be overtaken. The sufferings of his attendants from thirst soon became intense, and though, with their means of conveyance, there could be no risk of their actually sinking under their privations, considerable alarm on that subject seems to have prevailed. His wagon could not be dragged through the deep sand by the weakened

The desert of
Tans.Sufferings
from thirst.

CHAP. XVII. cattle, and was therefore abandoned in the desert, like a ship cast away at sea. Several horses and dogs perished ; but all the men successively reached the precipitous banks of the Kuisip. They found here, not running water, but long pools, that amply quenched their thirst, the only danger being from the excess in which some of them indulged.

Abandonment of their waggon.

Walvisch Bay.

The party here continued to travel downward along the course of the river, suffering still both hunger and thirst, till on the 19th April they reached Walvisch Bay, in latitude $22^{\circ} 55'$ south. Here was no want of water ; while abundance of fish, with wild fowl, afforded them a plentiful and agreeable diet. They had some expectation of being met by a British ship of war, in which they were disappointed ; but first one and then another American whaler appeared in the bay. They held friendly intercourse with these vessels, and procured some provisions and supplies in return for articles which they themselves could spare. The bay abounds with fish and fowl, and whales are so plentiful that the Americans often remain there three or four months. The climate is healthy, and the soil though sandy could be rendered in some degree productive. There appears therefore no obstacle to its becoming either a settlement or a mission-station.

Intercourse with American whalers.

Visit to the Hill Damaras.

The exhausted state of his equipment rendered it impossible to think of proceeding farther northward ; but Sir James, anxious to do as much as possible, determined to travel towards the east, and survey the country of the Hill Damaras, a people hitherto almost unknown. On entering it, there appeared ranges of broken ground, with single mountains rising in grotesque, peaked, and serrated forms. He came afterwards to a succession of ridges and valleys, clothed with fine grass, and interspersed with dwarf trees and bushes. The first villages he saw were deserted, drought and famine having, it was said, driven the natives from their habitations. By and by, he came to one still occupied, where he met a friendly reception. These people have completely the Negro form, colour, and features ; they live very rudely, without grain, cattle, or even dogs trained for hunting ; yet from

Friendly reception at a native village.

the abundance of game, they are numerous, dwelling in detached villages under head men, but without any general chief. The Damaras of the plain are a greater people, possessing ample herds; and their hill neighbours, imagining these can be got out of a cave whenever wanted, infer that there can be no harm in taking a few of them. Hence constant hostility reigns between the two races, who do not understand each other's speech, and hold no intercourse but by conflict and plunder. A traveller, therefore, wishing to penetrate among the tribes of the plain, should enter from the seacoast, and by no means come down upon them from the high country. Farther eastward he came to Niais, a village containing 1200 Namaquas and Hill Damaras, living under a brave chief of the former tribe, who had wrested this fine territory from the people of the plain. Here Sir James was well received, and found himself in the midst of abundance, milk being brought to him morning and evening. He was now very desirous of making his way eastward across Africa to the Indian Ocean, but was assured that an impassable desert intervened, so that even to reach Lattakoo it was necessary to make a circuit by the Orange river. He had therefore no option but to turn his face towards the Cape.

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Hostilities
between the
Damaras of
the hills and
plain.

Reception at
Niais.

He proceeded some days through the same fine valley, which, being populous and abounding in supplies, appeared well calculated for a missionary station. They came then upon "*veritable* Namaqua land, with patches of sand, quartz, dry white grass, and bushes." Crossing the Fish River, which appeared entitled to its name, he soon after arrived among plains of vast extent, desolate and silent as the grave. Having next to cross the Unuma or Bulb Mountains, his people experienced a most striking change of climate, being unable to sleep for cold, their clothes stiff with hoar-frost, and their benumbed hands scarcely able to load the bullocks. On descending to the low ground, he struck into his old track, and had the satisfaction of recovering the wagon, which one of the party had contrived to bring to this spot. He arrived at the Cape on the 21st September 1837.

Fertility of
the region.

Climate of
the Bulb
Mountains.

CHAP. XVII. We possess a very limited knowledge respecting the eastern coast of Africa, washed by the Indian Ocean,—a region long visited only by the Portuguese, who continued to throw a veil of mystery over all their discoveries. In 1498, when Vasco de Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, he touched at Mozambique, Mombaza, and Melinda, where he found the ruling people Arabs and bigoted Mohammedans. His object was merely to obtain pilots to guide his fleet to Hindostan; but at the two former ports he met an inhospitable and treacherous reception; while, on the other hand, he experienced at Melinda the utmost courtesy, and readily found the means of continuing his voyage to the coast of Malabar. Cabral, who followed in the footsteps of Gama, likewise visited Quiloa, which he describes as the capital of an extensive kingdom, and the seat of a flourishing trade; but it was not till he, too, reached Melinda that he could obtain any friendly assistance.

Views of the
early Portu-
guese
voyagers.

Settlement at
Mozambique.

The Portuguese, engrossed for some time with the more brilliant objects presented by the shores of India, sought only in African ports refreshment and pilots, and made no attempt at conquest; but as their empire extended, resentment or ambition furnished motives for successively attacking those settlements. In 1505, Almeyda, irritated by the reception given to him at Quiloa and Mombaza, landed and took possession of both these cities. In 1508, permission was obtained to erect a fort at Mozambique, by means of which his countrymen soon expelled the Arabs, and became complete masters of the town. Attracted by its vicinity to the gold mines, and its convenience as a place for refitting their fleets, they made it the capital of their possessions in Eastern Africa. Melinda also, which had long been friendly to Europeans, at last refused any longer to endure their insulting spirit; a quarrel arose, and that city was added to the dominion of the foreigners. They were now masters of the principal positions in a range of coast fully 2000 miles in length, though without extending their sway to any distance into the interior.

About 1569, the Portuguese made two vigorous attempts, under Nunez Barreto and Vasco Fernandez, to advance into the country behind Mozambique, chiefly with the view of reaching the gold mines, the produce of which was brought in considerable quantities down the Zambezi to Sofala. They penetrated a considerable way up the river, on the banks of which they erected the forts of Sena and Tete. Its upper course was overhung by steep and precipitous rocks belonging to the mountainous range of Lupata, which here crosses its channel. At length they arrived at Zimbao, the capital of Motapa, and even at the mines of Manica; but, instead of the expected abundance of the precious metal, they found that, as in other parts of Africa, it was laboriously extracted in small quantities from the extraneous substances in which it is embedded. On this expedition they frequently encountered the natives, who were always beaten; but they were so harassed by long marches and scarcity of provisions, that they returned in a very exhausted state, without establishing any permanent dominion over that vast region.

Ambitious projects of the Portuguese.

The gold mines of Manica.

As the energy of the Portuguese government declined, its sway over these colonies was reduced within limits which always became narrower; and in 1631, the people of Mombaza rose, massacred the settlers, and re-established their independence. They have been successively deprived of all their possessions northwards of Mozambique. That city, which was visited by Mr Salt in 1809, and Captain Owen in 1823, during his survey of the eastern coast of Africa, is represented as much decayed, though still containing many lofty and well built houses. The harbour is safe, formed by three coral islands, on one of which the town itself stands. It is defended by a large quadrangular fort, mounting eighty cannon and garrisoned by 200 negro soldiers, which, if the guns were well served, would effectually command the entrance, the situation being judiciously chosen. The governor, having a very small salary, is obliged to add to his income by merchandise; yet he contrives to main-

Expulsion of the Portuguese.

Garrison of Mozambique.

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Pomp of the
viceroy.

Commerce
of Quilli-
mane.

Exploratory
party to
Zambezi.

Portuguese
station at
Chapongo.

tain in his establishment a portion of that pomp which once distinguished the viceroys of Eastern Africa. The entertainment of tea, which is open every evening to all the respectable inhabitants, is set out in a service of pure gold, and the negroes in attendance are loaded with ornaments of that metal. The commerce consists only of slaves, with a little ivory and gold. Quillimane, at the mouth of the Zambezi, is now a greater mart for the first article, and is visited annually by about a dozen vessels from Rio Janciro, which return with 400 or 500 captives each. It contains 2800 inhabitants, chiefly in the condition of bondmen. Inhamban, in a more salubrious site, carries on the same trade on a smaller scale; but Sofala, notwithstanding its great name, exhibits now only a miserable fort, protecting a few mud-huts.

In 1824, a party connected with Captain Owen's expedition, consisting of Lieutenant Browne, Mr Forbes, and Mr Kilpatrick assistant-surgeon, with two black servants, undertook to ascend and explore the Zambezi. After proceeding eight miles, they emerged from the mangrove swamps, and sailed amid groves of cocoa-nut and orange trees: and having accomplished about forty-seven miles, though only thirty-two in direct distance, they became involved in an archipelago of islets, the channels between which were so shallow, that they were obliged to travel some space by land, and then re-embark.

At Chapongo they found a Portuguese station, commanded by a lady named Donna Pascoa d'Almeyda, who had no troops except a small negro militia, who submitted to her authority. She lived, however, in great pomp, and gave the strangers a cordial welcome. In ascending they saw a country tolerably well cultivated, but tame and uninteresting, till, in approaching Sena, they beheld the bold and picturesque outline of the mountains of Yemale. Before arriving, however, they had the affliction to lose Mr Forbes, a young man of great promise, who fell a victim to the climate. At Sena they had the satisfaction of again meeting their Chapongo hostess. This place is the capital of a Portuguese territory, estimated

to contain 3600 leagues, fertile and abounding in various resources, but the people being destitute of industry and enterprise, it is neglected and ill cultivated. Those of Tete, about sixty leagues higher, were reported to be much more active, cultivating wheat, vegetables, sugar, coffee, and rice; while its situation, on the side of a mountain, was very salubrious. The commandant received them coldly, and the priest sought only to obtain money from them. This treatment aggravated their exhaustion of body and mind, under which Mr Browne, after having nearly lost his faculties, finally sunk. Kilpatrick then became reckless and desponding, and, seeking relief in the use of spirits, soon shared the fate of his two companions. There remained of the unfortunate expedition only the two black servants, from whom Donna Pascoa endeavoured to extract the little money they had; but they steadily resisted, and having with difficulty effected their escape, after many perils reached Quillimane.

CHAP. XVII.
Industry and
enterprise at
Tete.

Fate of
Brown and
Kilpatrick.

Captain Owen, in his farther survey of this coast, was every where struck with the remains of former wealth and civilisation, strongly contrasted with its present poverty and barbarism. The Arabs, who once made it the seat of an active trade, are closely pressed by the Galla and other barbarous tribes, who have become masters of the whole of the interior, and leave to them little more than the islands on which their cities are built. On the sea-side, they can scarcely escape subjection to the Imam of Muscat, whose mild and protecting government, indeed, is perhaps the best they can expect. The centre of his power is in the insular territory of Zanzibar, which he has rendered the most flourishing spot and chief emporium of this part of the continent. Dr Ruschenberger states it to contain 150,000 inhabitants, and to yield a revenue of 110,000 dollars. According to M. Albrand, the great body of the people are Moors, whom he has completely reconciled to his government. The trade is carried on by about 200 Banians; and there are 15,000 slaves, who are very mildly treated.

Indications
of former
wealth and
civilization

The Imam of
Muscat.

- CHAP. XVII. The sugar-cane, clove, and nutmeg trees, have been introduced, but as yet with doubtful success. On the opposite coast, this prince holds control over a miserable village, scarce visited or known, which occupies the site of the once-famed emporium of Quiloa. There are still some interesting remains of the walls bosomed in trees, and the harbour is extremely fine. Mombaza, on a small island surrounded by coral reefs, has a still more perfect harbour, and its fort, though dilapidated, might be rendered impregnable. It now defends itself with difficulty against the imam, whose fleet Captain Owen found closely blockading it. The citizens had hoisted the English flag, and earnestly solicited permission to place themselves under its protection. He promised to transmit their application, and prevailed upon the commander of the besieging force to withdraw; but he had the mortification to learn, that as soon as the danger was past, all their inclination for British sovereignty vanished, and they showed little disposition to fulfil their engagements.
- Objects of cultivation at Zanzibar.
- Application for English protection.
- Capture of Patta.
- Trade of Lamoo and Magadoxo.
- Patta, farther to the north, was attacked in 1817 by the imam, and captured after a brave resistance. Though fallen from its former importance, it still has an active traffic carried on by means of those long boats called *dows*. The Portuguese castle remains, though now in a very ruinous condition. Much of the trade has been transferred to Lamoo, a larger town, containing 5000 inhabitants, and defended by a modern fort. Mukdeesha, called often Magadoxo, is also a place of some importance, and mistress of a considerable territory. Being built of stone, and adorned with four minarets, it makes an imposing appearance from the sea; but the interior, as elsewhere, is composed only of thatched huts. This place appears still to hold out against the Arab chief. Melinda (or Maleenda) is now entirely possessed by the Galla, through dread of whom no one dares to approach its coast.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Boat and Steam-Ship Explorations in the West.

Despatch of the *Ethiope* to explore the Niger—Ascent of the Formosa—Visit to Benin—Ascent of the Waree and the Niger to a point above Bajiebo—Examination of the Old Calabar River—Ascent of the Cross River—Discovery in the Eboe Country—Government Expedition to the Niger—Exploration of the Cameroons River—Examination of the Bay of Amboises.

NOTWITHSTANDING the failure of Mr. Laird's expedition, the Niger still seemed likely to offer a ready navigable inlet to extensive intercourse with the interior of central Africa. But the pestiferous swamps athwart its delta were a fearful hindrance, perhaps an absolute barrier. Could not some channel be found which might avoid them? Might not the Formosa River, or some other stream or estuary on the extreme wing of the delta, away from the thickest of the noxious exhalations, afford a safe and easy approach to the main body of the Niger?

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Continued
interest in
the Niger.

These were the thoughts of most persons who kept a keen eye on the geography of Africa, or felt a special interest in its civilization and trade. No man cherished them more warmly than Robert Jamieson, Esq., of Liverpool. That gentleman staked great interests in the west of Africa, and determined to try, at his own cost, whether the navigation of the Niger might not be triumphantly attempted. In 1839 he built and despatched a steam vessel, of thirty horse-power, to explore the Formosa, or any other channel which might seem most promising, and to attempt to establish commercial re-

Despatch of
the *Ethiope*

CHAP. XVIII. lations with the interior. She was called the *Ethiope*, and put under the command of Mr. Becroft. Her crew comprised fifteen Europeans, and a corresponding number of kroomen. And she had interpreters on board, one of whom, of the name of Mina, had accompanied Clapperton and Lander.

Ascent of the
Formosa.

The *Ethiope* entered the *Formosa* in April 1840. She ascended the river about forty miles, to a point where it forked into two branches; and she then ascended one of these from forty to fifty miles, and the other from sixty to seventy miles. The main stream was winding, bold, and beautiful, and had commonly a depth of from three to six fathoms; and the branches were much narrower and extremely tortuous, and had nowhere, in the vessel's course, a depth of less than three fathoms. They could not be farther ascended, not at all on account of shallowness, but solely in consequence of a rank strong aquatic vegetation, which spread in meshes across their current, and which could not have been penetrated by any process short of tedious and laborious cutting. Mr. Becroft felt small inducement to attempt this; for he already concluded, from the crystal limpidness of the water of both branches, as compared with the turbidness of the Niger, which he had navigated some years before, that the *Formosa* is an entirely independent river, and probably rises in the high lands north-west of the Niger's basin. Extensive plains were seen stretching away from the farthest point reached; but they did not show any appearances of cultivation or inhabitants. The natives lower down call this district the Sooba country, and say that it forms part of the kingdom of Benin. The banks of both branches of the river were beautifully wooded.

The Sooba
country.

We may state, though in the way of digression, that two years before the period of the *Ethiope's* exploration, when Mr. Jamieson's schooner, the *Waree*, was lying in the mouth of the *Formosa*, two of the officers of that vessel, Messrs. Moffat and Smith, made some examina-

tion of the north side of the Formosa's basin onward to the city of Benin. Their immediate object was to open a trade with the village of Gato, and to obtain a sanction for this from the king of the country. They were paddled by kroomen, in the schooner's galley, from fifteen to twenty miles up the Formosa, to the Gato creek; they then ascended the creek about the same distance to the village; and they then were carried in their cots, about twenty miles, in a north-easterly direction, through a finely wooded, and in some places very beautiful country, to the city. They were not long there till they got horrific evidence of the savage condition of the inhabitants. In one place, a heap of human skulls marred the thoroughfare, and glittered in the sunshine; in another, two corpses were exposed in a sitting posture on the roof of a hut; in a third and adjacent one lay, like carrion, fed upon by turkey-buzzards, the headless bodies of men who had been recently put to death; and in a fourth was an open pit, emitting a sickening putrid stench, and evidently serving as a barbarous substitute for a cemetery. The king treated Messrs. Moffat and Smith with an affectation of prodigious personal dignity, and immense commercial consequence, but at last came to reason in the vulgar manner of a higgling trafficker. Mr. Smith's watch was much admired by the courtiers; a pocket-compass, which he carried, was regarded with astonishment and fear, on account of its always pointing to the white man's country; and a rocket fired at night, in the presence of a crowd of spectators, drew from them noisy and delighted applause of the Europeans.

Mr. Becroft and his party in the *Ethiope* returned to the anchorage at the mouth of the Formosa, only eleven days after they had left it. Relinquishing all hope that commerce could ever be pushed far into the interior of Africa by that channel, they resolved to try whether a good entrance to the Niger might be found by what is called the Waree branch. A considerable offset, called the Young Town Creek, leaves the Formosa at some distance

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Trip to Benin.

The court of Benin.

CHAP. XVIII. above its mouth, and flows to the south; and this conveyed them into the Waree. They were now within the limits of the delta; and they found the navigation intricate, and soon began to suffer the effects of the pestilential air. They spent a fortnight in reaching the Niger at the point whence the Nun branch goes off, a short way below the town of Eboe; and in their progress thither, they passed three openings to the sea, which they presumed to be the rivers Escravos, Forcados, and Ramos. Sickness more or less attacked all the European portion of the crew; and it afterwards remained with them, in various violence, during all the time they were in the Niger, and eventually carried off one of the officers, two seamen, and two boys.

Ascent of the
Waree River.

The explorers left Eboe on the 20th of May; but, in consequence of the periodical rise of the waters not having fully set in, and of its possessing less than the usual volume, they did not reach Rabba till the 25th of August. Notwithstanding every precaution to avoid shallows, the vessel was constantly taking the ground, and often she could not be got off again without much labour and loss of time, more particularly as the European part of the crew continued unable to make any exertion.

Ascent of the
Niger above
Rabba.

On the 7th of September they left Rabba, in the hope of ascending as far as Boussa before the river ceased to rise; and they soon passed the long low island which Lander calls a sort of miniature of Holland in the heart of Africa, and then enjoyed the luxury of steaming along the base of the Kesa range of mountains. Next day they struggled up narrow channels among rocky islets, which vexed the waters, and made the currents strong—some of the islets looking picturesque and romantic, and all the surrounding landscape very beautiful. On the 9th they passed the town of Kalimah, and further on the village of Agoghie, and toward evening the village of Buckoe; and all the way they had to keep a sharp outlook for rocks, some of which rose up as ledges and

islets, while many either barely showed themselves above water, or lay quite sunk, and were revealed only by eddies. On the 10th the party lay off Leechee. This had appeared to Lander a considerable town ; but it was now a wretched place, with not more than about 300 inhabitants, and seemingly much oppressed by the Fel-latas ; yet it had begun to make acquaintance with one of the worst evils of the great cities of the civilized world—a passion for ardent spirits. At the villages of Buzzanghie and Tykboo, which were passed on the 11th, the river rioted between very rocky banks, and was contracted to a width of only about 300 yards, but with so small increase of depth as to have soundings of not more than five or six fathoms. Further up, and above the town of Bajiebo, it was squeezed between flanks of rock into a central channel of about fifty yards in width, and rolled on so tumultuously that the steamer could only just go a-head, and was very ticklish to steer. There was no safe anchorage ; and the sounding leads would not work. The vessel strained and struggled, and did not get up without well-sustained and persevering effort. But very soon she arrived at another gorge of exactly the same kind, but worse,—the width only about thirty yards, and the current almost like a torrent. With all steam up, and full power of engine, she here could barely hold her own, or keep her stem right forward ; and had she been caught on either bow by the current, she could not have recovered herself, but would have been swept away like a chip of wood.

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Difficulties of navigation

Mr. Becroft now concluded that further progress was impracticable. To have attempted to cast anchor and wait for more favourable circumstances in such a place and at such a time, would have been folly. The ground was so foul, and the current so impetuous, that the anchor would have been lost ; and the periodical rising of the river was still so steadily increasing, and had so long a period to continue, that delay would have been ruin. Mr. Becroft judged that, if things had been a little more

Arrestment of progress.

CHAP. XVIII. favourable, he could have reached Lever from the spot at which he then was in two hours, but that he could not have ascended to Boussa and Yaoux in less than a month, and that only by taking advantage of the eddies. His clear duty was to return, and he therefore set about the most heroic part of a hero's conduct,—commenced a judicious retreat.

Traffic at
Bajiebo and
Rabba.

The steamer, on her way down, cast anchor at Bajiebo. The people from that town went alongside in canoes, and were allowed to go on board in small parties to indulge their curiosity to see the "white man" and his "fire-ship." They also fetched yams and fire-wood for sale; but with the exception of a little ivory, they had no produce to barter for merchandise. At Rabba, which Lander had found to be the largest town in the Fellata dominions, except Sackatoo, and which was now the seat of a court, and the greatest city on the lower Niger, the explorers were well received and entertained, and had frequent interviews with the king. They sought only to drive a trade, but were treated rather as princes than as merchants. Their "fire-ship" and the fame of England were as grand things in the estimation of both the monarch and the multitude as an African kingdom. All classes crowded the beach to look at them; the king exchanged presents with them, and returned their salutes with the noisiest public demonstrations of joy; and when they were about to depart, he became so suppliant as to express a wish that, besides a number of brass cannon to protect his town, Mr. Becroft would bring for him, on his next visit to Rabba, *two sofa beds and a large trunk*. The explorers called at all the other principal places on the river for trade, both in going up and in returning; and they everywhere experienced entire friendliness on the part of at once kings, chiefs, and people.

Traffic at
other places.

The Ethiope returned through the delta by the way she went, and arrived on the 30th of October at the mouth of the Formosa river. All the country which

she traversed, from the apex of the delta upward, is described by her officers as beautiful, fertile, and pleasant. The natives, though possessing few suitable articles to give in exchange for European commodities, were desirous to trade. Indigo, well prepared and of good quality, was found for sale, in small quantity, in the market-place of Rabba; cotton was spun and woven at several towns; and both these articles, and other tropical productions, would no doubt be raised in great abundance for exportation if a steady demand for them were once made. But not a trace of anything was discovered by the Ethiope to evade or mitigate the terrible evils of the delta's pestilential swamps. These now seemed certainly to debar all attempts at commerce except such as might be made by means of steam vessels, manned entirely by native Africans, under the direction of European officers and engineers well inured to the climate. But any steam-vessel of sufficiently light draught of water to be suitable for river navigation, would not be strong enough to bear the buffeting of sea-billows, and make safe voyages to Europe; the employment of steam-vessels of any kind in such a region as that of the Niger would be expensive; the repairing of loss from accidents to engineers and machinery would be difficult and impossible; and, even if all these difficulties could be overcome, the river itself was now well ascertained to be navigable during only the few months of its being in flood. Thus the results of the Ethiope's exploration appeared utterly to damp the warm hopes which had been entertained of opening a great commercial intercourse with interior Africa by the Niger.

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Facilities for
commerce on
the Niger.

Hindrances
to it.

Results of the
Ethiope's ex-
ploration.

Mr. Becroft was instructed to remain some months longer in Africa with the Ethiope, and to ascend the Old Calabar and the Cross rivers at the time of their periodical rise. These streams enter the ocean adjacent to the south wing of the Niger's delta, as the Formosa does adjacent to the north one; and as they had never

CHAP. XVIII. yet been explored farther than a few miles from their embouchure, they might possibly be found to lead the way to the interior Niger. They had, at all events, been long and intimately known as a grand outlet of palm-oil, and other tropical productions, to the trading vessels of the coast; and they seemed certainly to flow from rich regions, and could scarcely fail to present scenes and resources well worthy of exploration.

Importance
of the Old
Calabar and
Cross Rivers.

Mr. Becroft was detained by untoward circumstances, in his trading about the mouths of the Niger, from proceeding to the Old Calabar at a duly early period in the season; and when he did proceed, he was arrested on his way by news of the disastrous state of a great government expedition which was then in the Niger, and turned aside to assist one of its ships out of the delta, and on to Fernando Po. He did not cast anchor off Duke Town, in the Old Calabar, till so late as the 23d of October, and then the flood-season of the river was far advanced. But he made prompt use of his time, and laid vigorous hold of the best opportunities which offered for prosecuting the objects of his visit.

Ascent of the
Old Calabar.

Having secured the good-will of the chiefs of Duke Town and Creek Town—both of whom affected the style of sovereigns—the former so magniloquently as to call himself “Eyamba, king for all black man”—Mr. Becroft set sail on the 25th. The scenery from the very first, and everywhere, was charming and diversified. The river swept on in folds and reaches; the banks and flanks had a curving contour, and alternated in grove and glade; and the vales and slopes were now gaily arrayed in cultivated plantations, and now picturesquely feathered with wild palms. Calabashes were seen suspended near the tops of many of the cabbage trees, to collect the minniefot, or palm-wine, which exudes from wounds inflicted on the upper part of the stems.

At respectively about five miles and eight miles from Duke Town, the Ethiope reached the towns of Little Guinea Company and Big Guinea Company. These

places are a kind of memorial of the infamy which long attached to British trade on the west coast of Africa; for they got their fantastic name from early British slavers. The former is a single town, with probably about one thousand inhabitants; and the latter is a group of six towns, each having its own chief, and all having a population of probably about five thousand. Mr. Becroft and his officers made them a visit, "anxious to see what towns with so imposing a name were like;" but they found them squalid and miserable, and much inferior to Duke Town. The inhabitants crowded out to look at the strangers, and displayed no little astonishment and interest; and the chiefs behaved variously, yet, on the whole, were friendly,—and one of them, "on hospitable thoughts intent," fetched out minniefot and Hollands, and, according to the custom of the district, partook first of the drink himself, by way of "taking the doctor off it." Mr. Becroft took the steamer about eight miles farther than Big Guinea Company, and passed several other seats of population, and observed the scenery to be still luxuriant and lovely; but now he found the river suddenly diminishing to a mere creek, and of no consequence whatever beyond the influence of the tide; and he made the best of his way back to Duke Town, and arrived there on the 27th.

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Towns of
Guinea Com-
pany.

The Old Calabar River and the Cross River form a confluence about five miles below Duke Town; and they are connected by a creek which is overlooked at its topmost bend by Creek Town, and which isolates a tract of about twenty or twenty-five square miles above their confluence. Now that the Old Calabar River had turned out to be of small extent, the Cross River might probably prove of correspondingly greater consequence,—to be, in fact, the grand channel by which the merchandise of this part of Africa had found its way to the coast. But the chiefs of Duke Town and Creek Town were not quite willing to have it explored, and tried to deter Mr. Becroft by statements about the lowness of the water,

Connection
of the Old
Calabar and
Cross Rivers.

CHAP. XVIII. and about probable danger from inland tribes. They were small "kings,"—not much different, in extent of jurisdiction, and in causes of jealousy, from the reguli of ancient Europe, and the village chiefs of ancient Asia; and they had vastly better reason than the monarchs of the large kingdoms of interior Africa to apprehend that any great communication through their own states to adjacent ones, especially by such powerful means as Mr. Becroft's expedition, might prove unfavourable or even perilous to their authority. They had also in their hands the management of all the trade of the district with European vessels, and may well be supposed to have felt little relish for the possible effects which exploration might produce upon their revenue. Yet, with a liberality which might teach a magnificent lesson to the statesmen of the greatest empires, they not only waived their objections, when they found Mr. Becroft resolute, but lent him their utmost aid. In a grand palaver of the two chiefs and their principal counsellors, it was resolved to lend him King Eyamba's state-canoe, with its crew of pull-away-boys. He had asked this on finding that the periodical floods had already fallen too low to make it safe that season to take the steamer up the Cross River; and he probably felt as much surprise as gratification at the granting of his bold request. He made the canoe as comfortable as he could, armed her, took on board of her his interpreter, his leadsman, and some of his own kroomen, and left the *Ethiope* to lie off Duke Town till his return.

The kings of
Duke Town
and Creek
Town.

Exploration
of the Cross
River.

He started on the 4th of November, and was convoyed a short way by Eyamba. The Cross River was found, for a distance of about twenty-three miles, to form a narrow delta. The explorers went up what seemed the main channel. This proved an expansive sheet of water, varying in width from 250 yards to one mile and a half, but often exceedingly shallow, and profusely intersected by mangrove islands, of beautiful outline, and most picturesque appearance. In one lovely reach of about three miles

in length, the waters were haunted by hippopotami, the flanking slopes were patched with field-culture, and the left bank was overhung by luxuriant woodland. At the apex of the delta, the main stream appeared to be from 1000 to 1500 yards wide, and divided into three channels. About nine miles onward was the miserable village of Biabboo, belonging to Eyamba of Duke Town, and inhabited principally by old women, most of whom had been banished from Old Calabar for the *crime* of bearing twins,—having “two piccaninni one time.” Above this occurred a gorgeous reach, split into three channels by richly wooded islands, and all over brilliant with tropical shrubs and flowers. Farther on was the town of Etoo, whose inhabitants bore a cut-throat character, and had often plundered the Calabar canoes on their way to market, and who—true to an old proverb of many lands, which says, that evil doers are evil dreaders—would not let the explorers land, lest they should miraculously smite them with small-pox!

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The village
of Biabboo.

On the 7th, several miles above Etoo, and after the party had passed a small creek leading to the Innieong country, they were surprised to see a large canoe coming up the river, with native flags and music, and with two men at the bow keeping up a constant fire of musketry. On its approaching, the principal person in it announced himself to be the “King of Innieong come to see white man,” whom he heard “lived for water;” and on getting alongside, “his majesty” offered presents, and expressed himself delighted,—saying that he had “never seen white man before,” and that his “heart was glad now he look him.” The river still was charming. The banks were flanked at intervals with fields of yams, cocoas, and maize; and the country behind them was plentifully and beautifully wooded. Several canoes were seen engaged in fishing, by means of ingeniously-con-
trived baskets, fixed with stakes in the shallower parts of the stream. A small town was passed; and then appeared a remarkable sandstone cliff, forming the

The king of
Innieong.

Native fish-
ery.

CHAP. XVIII. abutment of a hill, and held sacred by the surrounding population.

The town of Omun.

On the 8th, the party reached the town of Omun. They had received savage accounts of this from Eyamba at Duke Town; and they approached it with caution, sending a message beforehand to apprise the chief of their coming. They landed amid a crowd of wondering starers, passed along a few narrow windings, and found themselves in front of a ruinous hut, with a pile of human skulls at the entrance,—the craniums coloured with red and yellow ochres, and the eye-sockets plugged with clay. This was the palace of the chief. They passed through a small court crowded with women, and stooped under a low doorway into a dark, narrow, semi-circular apartment, and were then in the royal presence. The chief was a stout, heavy, elderly man, and received them with perfect nonchalance, yet gave them substantial tokens of a welcome. His courtiers, on whom they afterwards waited at their own homes, overwhelmed them with kindness. An entertainment with dancing and rude music was given in the evening; and when the strangers took their leave to return to the canoe, they were lighted to the beach with torches, preceded by songsters singing the white men's praises. The town stands on the upper end of a large island, and appeared to contain about 5000 inhabitants. The people resemble those of Old Calabar, and dress in a similar way, but speak a considerably different dialect, and have few or none of the European articles of finery with which all African grandees, who can get them, love to improve their costume. But all children, and the younger boys and girls, go quite naked.

Manners of the Omun people.

The explorers found the seasonal river flood rapidly falling at Omun, and already become very low; and they resolved to turn there, and make all speed back to Duke Town. But in the course of the following year they received instructions from Mr. Jamieson to resume their explorations; and on the 10th of September, 1842,

they were again at Omun,—not with a canoe, however, but with the *Ethiope*. Their friends there were delighted to see them once more, but looked very scowlingly on the conveyance by which they had come, and did not hesitate to express a suspicion that the propelling power of the steamer was an evil spirit, or “the devil.” They could not be induced to venture on board till they had seen some native traders from Old Calabar going on to the deck and returning unhurt; but when they did venture, and began to get rid of fear, they viewed every thing about the ship with the utmost wonder and admiration. A display of fire-rockets was made at night to give them pleasure; but it frightened them, and had to be suddenly stopped.

CHAP. XVIII.

Thoughts
about the
steamer.

On the 13th, the *Ethiope* weighed anchor, to proceed up the river. One of the Omun grandees, of the name of Anna, went with her, professedly from motives of friendship to the expedition, but secretly to induce Mr. Becroft to attempt the adjustment of a state quarrel between Omun and a neighbouring “kingdom.” The party soon reached a village called Innoo-cobòh, belonging to Anna, and inhabited principally by slaves who worked upon his plantation. Several Eboes were there on a visit from a country of their own on the west side of the river; but they had a widely different character, and spoke an entirely different dialect, from the Eboes on the Niger.

About twenty-five miles above Omun, the *Ethiope* arrived at the large town of Acoono-Coono. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed, and crowded on the bank, seemingly determined to give battle. Mr. Becroft and his surgeon landed unarmed, carrying a few presents as tokens of peace, but were received with prodigious clamour, and had much difficulty in pressing their way to the centre of authority. They were conducted through a doorway up a narrow street into the palaver house, and were there confronted by a little old decrepid kingkin, and surrounded almost to suffocation by an excited crowd of

The town of
Acoono-
Coono.

CHAP. XVIII. "nobles" and spectators. They pointed to their own unarmed state, and expressed a hope that their show of friendly confidence would be reciprocated; and immediately muskets and cutlasses disappeared. They then said they had come from a far away country to inquire what things Acoono-Coono could trade in, and were answered,—“Fowl, goat, yam, bullock, slave, and every thing.” They afterwards learned that a small exchange trade of palm-oil for tobacco and European goods was conducted, through the medium of the Eboes, with New Calabar and Bonny, at the mouths of the Niger. Acoono-Coono was the state with which Omun was at feud, and it had been intercepted, by that feud, from trading down the river with Old Calabar; but, on his return voyage, Mr. Becroft had the happiness of evincing the high power of civilization, by peacefully and peremptorily bringing that feud to an end. The town extends like a crescent about three-quarters of a mile along the left bank of the river, but consists of miserable houses, and has only about four thousand inhabitants. The people are finer looking than those of Omun, with less of the negro grossness of feature, and resemble the natives of the valley of the Niger between Rabba and Iddah. Both sexes wear a piece of cloth round the middle, and strings of beads round the neck, wrists, and ankles; and many of the females wear bracelets and anklets of cowries, and dress their hair into a remarkable series of knots.

The scenery
above
Acoono-
Coono.

The banks of the river above Acoono-Coono continued to be beautiful and diversified in both form and vegetation. At first, stretches of meadow alternated with knolls and hills and escarpments, all arrayed in grass and coppice, and crowned with bombax and fan-palm; farther on, an undulated low tableau expanded on one side, while rocky tabular hills, with precipitous faces, extended away on the other,—both richly clothed with brushwood, bananas, and cocoa-trees; and farther still, a comparatively low, level, and thickly wooded

country receded, in waving floods of tropical verdure, to a distant horizon of the softest beauty. Many towns and villages were passed, but not visited. The inhabitants of the first two rushed to the banks in terror, and brandished weapons of defence. Those of the next ran out from among a grove of palms, and gazed at the steamer without the slightest symptom of apprehension. Those of some villages among the hills climbed to the heights to see the passing wonder, and also seemed perfectly free from fear. Those of three towns situated closely together on the bank, stood wedged along the beach, for the most part in arms. In one place, just as the steamer was approaching the mouth of a tributary stream, there darted thence into the river a large canoe, gaily displaying native flags of various colours, and seemingly belonging to some chief or grandee. The pull-away-boys instantly dropped their paddles, and changed their paddle-song into an exclamation of astonishment; and on the steamer getting nearer them, they pulled rapidly to the bank, leaped almost in a body on the shore, rushed headlong among the brushwood, and left the canoe to proceed uncared-for down the current.

CHAP. XVIII

Numerous
towns and
villages.

At a bend of the river, on the 16th, a range of mountains burst into view, directly ahead. The officers, on examining them through a glass, perceived them to be wooded to the summits; and as they could just distinguish some palms on a ridge to the eastward of a rounded peak of seemingly about 3000 feet high in the centre, they supposed them to be distant from fifteen to twenty miles. The banks were as luxuriant and lovely as ever, and continued to be profusely dotted with villages and small towns. Some of the inhabitants of one place went spontaneously in canoes to the steamer to offer articles for sale; and the chief, at the same time, proved so confiding as to let his son go up the river with her, in the capacity of interpreter. On the 19th, a point was reached where the channel suddenly narrowed, and was swept by an impetuous current, and became

A range of
mountains.

CHAP. XVIII. soon and rapidly impracticable. The steamer tried to stem it, but got into a most perilous position, and did not, without great difficulty, drop back to calmer water.

A cataract. A party now manned and armed the long galley, and struggled, with prodigious effort, to ascend the rapids. They succeeded, and found the river above to expand gradually into fine proportions, and pushed onward, between curving and thickly-wooded banks, to the vicinity of a town ; but were there fiercely fired at by the inhabitants, and compelled to retreat. A thought was entertained of making another attempt to go on, but the river-flood was discovered to be rapidly falling, and the thought was abandoned. The party now made all prudent haste back to Duke Town, and arrived there on the 28th.

General view of the Cross River. They thus spent, altogether, nineteen days in that year's expedition, and they traced the Cross River, including its great windings, altogether a distance of about 200 miles, and found its course over the upper half of that distance to be north-westerly and westerly, and over the lower half to be southerly. Not the least interesting circumstance about this fine stream is, that, in its long north-westerly reach, it flows within forty miles of the Niger's main affluent—the Tchadda.

The Scottish Presbyterian Mission.

The district of Old Calabar, and the region around it, have recently become well known in Britain through the medium of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission. This was established there in 1846, and aims at no less than eventually to shed civilization, education, and Christianity up the Cross River, across to the Niger and the Tchadda, and on to the gorgeous regions of Central Africa. May it rapidly and gloriously prosper ! But we refer to it here only in connexion with the light it has thrown on the moral and physical condition of the country.

An appalling instance occurred, in May 1847, of the African practice of making human sacrifices at the death of a monarch. Eyamba of Duke Town then died. He was but a trivial king, and both he and his courtiers had welcomed and patronised the missionaries. Yet at

his death, thirty of his "queens," and probably about seventy other persons, were immolated for his soul's repose. The "queens" were murdered, not in a mass, but one by one; and when each was devoted to slaughter, she received a message, "King calls you." She well knew the fatal import of this; and, instantly calling for her court-dress and her ornaments, she arrayed herself in the best, drank a large quantity of rum, followed the messenger to the outer yard, and was there strangled with a copper wire, or a piece of fine twisted cloth. Many of the meaner victims were slain like wild beasts in the woods, and others were seized, under night, in their houses, loaded with irons, and flung into the river. Perhaps the most startling circumstance in the whole tragedy—one, at all events, which flung a lurid glare of illustration upon the infernal tenacity with which a bloody superstition maintains its grip upon the savage heart—was, that some of the very actors in the scene, and the directors of it, viewed it with shame and horror.

CHAP. XVII.
Superstitious
massacre at
Duke Town.

Toward the end of 1849, Mr. Waddell, the senior Old Calabar missionary, sent home from Bonny, at the mouth of one of the outlets of the Niger, an account of an interesting territorial discovery. Four ship-masters whom he met there had, three weeks before, made an excursion in their boats up the Bonny river, to find out the places in the Eboe country whence the Bonny traders obtained their supplies of palm-oil. They proceeded onward, during two days, and went in a direction, not toward the Niger, but toward Old Calabar, and arrived at limpid streams, pure air, high cultivated grounds, and large clean towns. They spent a day and a night at the greatest trading-place, and saw there about two hundred canoes engaged in the work of commerce. The natives everywhere welcomed them, and vied with one another to make them comfortable, and to win their favour. No white men had ever been seen there before, and could the strangers have prolonged their stay, they were assured that the whole country

Discovery in
the Eboe
country.

CHAP. XVIII. would have flocked to see them. Thus is there at least one healthy, friendly, traffic-loving district, accessible, by light craft, through only a wing of the pestiferous delta ; and that, together with communication by the upper reaches of the Cross River, may possibly, at no distant period, lead on to others.

The Govern-
ment expedi-
tion to the
Niger.

In 1841, the British Government sent an expedition to the Niger. It comprised three steam-vessels, and was put under the command of Captain Henry Trotter. The vessels were constructed for the purpose, and had a light draught, and were called Wilberforce, Albert, and Soudan ; and they were accompanied by a transport. The main object of the expedition was to establish such friendly relations with the chiefs on the Niger as might promote general commerce, and lead to the extinction of the slave-trade. Instructions were given to take the steamers as far as practicable up the Niger and its tributary streams, and afterwards to visit, in open boats, any countries which could be conveniently reached, and to send exploring parties overland in any direction which might be thought advisable. Much discovery, therefore, was anticipated, particularly up the valley of the Tchadda. But, on this occasion, as on many a former one in the affairs of African geography, hope was hurled back, by disaster and death, from the very threshold of the region which it sought to penetrate.

The Nun
mouth of the
Niger.

The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the 27th of April, 1841, but did not get fairly out to sea till the 12th of May ; and they arrived off the Nun mouth of the Niger on the 10th of August. When they were about six miles from the entrance, a powerful current of fresh water was seen careering outward, with considerable velocity, of a clayish colour, and boiling with foam. After they crossed the bar, they found themselves in fine smooth water, but observed on their right a series of bold breakers extending a long way to sea, and on their left a tumultuous surge along the encounter of the

tide with the fresh water. The banks at the entrance are only about a mile asunder, and exhibit great luxuriance, bringing down to the water's edge a dense invasion of mangroves and stately palms. Alburka Island, a little way up, appears at full tide a mere mass of mangroves growing in the water, and at ebb displays their surface-roots winding fantastically through the mud and sand. Some parts of the channel are so intricate and narrow that the vessels, in traversing them, had not more than twice their own length of sea-room; and others are ramified into a net-work of water by offsets, creeks, and bifurcations. Groves and grass and brushwood are everywhere luxuriant; and the groves sometimes hang out festoons eighty feet perpendicular from tree-top to the water. All the banks and the alluvial lands are laden with verdure; they exhibit many a patch of teeming cultivation; and often they stretch away almost as far as the eye can reach, in magnificent meadows, fringed with lofty trees and picturesque foliage. But, in the rainy season, they are nevertheless all a compound of marsh and puddle. The officers of the expedition, when making short exploratory trips upon them, had frequently to plod their way through mud and spouty clay, and occasionally sunk almost to the knees, and sometimes were glad to work their way back to the ships along the intersecting brooks in crazy canoes.

CHAP. XVIII

Intricacy of
the river's
channel.

Yet these singular swamps are thickly inhabited. Huts and villages and little towns occur in profuse sprinklings along the banks. Multitudes of amphibious human beings waddle among the reeking mud as contentedly as eels or saurians, and form little estates or kingdoms as compactly as the population of the gorgeous valleys to the south and east. Mothers tie their infants on their backs, and paddle along in small canoes to their provision grounds; fathers and grown-up children drag a livelihood almost equally out of marsh and water; and chiefs or kingkins roll at their ease under huts

Population of
the swamps.

CHAP. XVIII almost open to the weather, on floors of splash and filth. All these strange people seemed to the officers of the expedition to feel quite at home, and to be remarkably peaceable. Some were strong and healthy ; and others were dismally affected with dropsical swellings in the abdomen. All who were near the banks crowded out to gaze at the ships ; few exhibited any symptoms of fear or distrust ; many went spontaneously off in canoes to offer articles of produce for sale ; numbers displayed themselves in costumes of savage and ludicrous finery ; and such of the chiefs or kings as were accessible, readily entered into compacts with the commander of the expedition on the subjects of commerce and the slave-trade.

Behaviour of
the natives of
the swamps.

The town and
king or Id-
dah.

The principal channels through the delta—perhaps the only ones navigable by any considerable craft—were ascertained to be those which the previous exploring ships had traversed,—the Nun and the Warree branches. The expedition moved slowly, and became soon and overwhelmingly embarrassed by sickness. They reached Iddah on the 2nd of September, but did not reach a point about forty miles higher up till the 12th. Iddah is about 200 miles from the coast, and about forty from the confluence of the Niger and the Tchadda. The chief or “king” there acted right royally,—giving readily and heartily every aid and sanction in his power, and firmly refusing to accept a present. A tribe on the opposite bank of the river made a hostile demonstration against one of the ships, but were easily pacified and brought to reason. The people all above Iddah crowded to the banks to bid the expedition welcome, or to trade with it, or to gratify their wonder at its “fire-ships.” The scenery was beheld with rapture by all the crew who had not seen it before, and had now health to look upon it ; but the mountains or rather hills which flank and overhang the valley, though sumptuously clothed with wood, and peaked and contoured in many a form of picturesque beauty, were found to have been over-

estimated in at once continuousness, height, and fertility. They do not constitute a range, but are disposed in groups, and often rise up like separate cones ; and they seldom if ever have an altitude of more than 1200 or 1500 feet above the level of the river ; and, with rare exceptions, they are inhabited and cultivated only at their lowest skirts.

One object of the expedition was to institute a model farm, at the expense of some gentlemen in London, with the view of ascertaining the capabilities of the soil, and of stimulating the natives to improvement in agriculture ; and that object was accomplished. The parties set down to work the farm were civilized blacks from Sierra Leone. The land and climate at the place were favourable ; part of the ground was already cleared ; and a small vessel was left for maintaining intercourse with the coast.

CHAP. XVIII

The institution of a model farm.

The further details of the expedition need be very briefly given ; for they are details, not of discovery or adventure, but chiefly of pestilence, and death, and woe. On the 19th of September, several persons had died, and so very many were ill, that the Soudan was converted into an hospital, and despatched to Fernando Po ; on the 21st, the Wilberforce and the Albert got ready, the former to explore the Tchadda, and the latter to sail up to Boussa ; on the 22nd, so rapid and terrible was the increase of disease, that the Wilberforce was turned the other way, and sent after the Soudan ; and in a day or two more, when the Albert had got no higher than Rabba, she also was compelled to turn round and follow. Most persons in all the crews were now either prostrated, or dying, or dead. So frightful was the Albert's distress, that of all her officers the surgeon alone retained sufficient health to attend to her ; and he navigated her part of the way down the river with no other knowledge of steam machinery than what he acquired, in the urgency of the moment, from the study of Tredgold's work on the steam-engine. But at last Mr. Becroft of

Pestilence and death among the crews.

Fearful distress of the Albert.

CHAP. XVIII. the Ethiope heard of her condition, and ran to her assistance, and succeeded in conveying her to Fernando Po. One of the ships soon returned to Britain; and the other two remained on the coast and in the adjacent seas till next year, waiting for instructions, and were then recalled.

Explorations
south-east of
Old Calabar.

Captain Allen, who had been up the Niger with Mr. Laird in 1833, and had then done good service, was in command of the two remaining ships; and in May and June 1842, he seized the opportunity of inaction to examine and explore some interesting parts of the coast south-east of Old Calabar. He went first to the Cameroons River; and by carefully feeling his way with the lead, he took the Wilberforce up to the anchorage of the palm-oil trading vessels in its estuary. There he found two towns, separated from each other by a little brook,—disposed in wide and regular streets, with houses built of bamboo,—inhabited by large and important communities, who had caught much of the European spirit through traffic with trading-vessels,—and ruled by chiefs who affected the regal style and title, and at the same time bore sway over extensive inland territories. But the character of the region whence the produce sold at these towns is obtained, and even the names of the streams which bring it down, were unknown both to the traders and to the native townsmen.

Ascent of the
Cameroons
River.

Captain Allen attempted to take up the Wilberforce by three different channels to the main stream, but encountered such obstruction from shallows and mangrove islands at the distance of only seven or eight miles, that he was there compelled to desist. He then resolved to ascend in boats; and he was accompanied in them by several of his officers, and by the two “kings.” They soon found themselves in a labyrinth of creeks, shoals, and mudbanks, among low, silty, stenchy islands, covered with mangroves, and abounding in slime and decayed foliage. But, after an hour’s paddling, they entered an open expanse of water upwards of a mile in width,

at whose upper end the mangroves disappeared ; and thence, by a narrow channel between two islands, they shot into the apex of the delta, and reached the main object of their search, the undivided river. This proved a great and magnificent stream, about 400 or 500 yards wide, and similar to some of the reaches of the Niger below Eboe. The margins were densely covered with the long grass peculiar to African rivers ; its banks behind these displayed ferns, patches of plantains, and a countless variety of shrubs, many in full flower, and almost all thickly matted with graceful climbers ; and the grounds above the banks were crowned with the feathery areca, the picturesque cocoa-nut, and the gigantic bombax. The whole scene was a glory, and looked like a nook of Eden dropped upon dreary Africa to allure it from its savagism.

CHAP. XVIII

Breadth and
banks of the
stream.

As the party ascended, many appearances were seen of population, cultivation, and comparative comfort. Single individuals in small canoes frequently darted into view, or suddenly plunged among the brushwood of the banks, alarmed at the novel sight of white men. Large huts were observed, with spacious clearings around them, and displaying a cleanliness and neatness delightfully different from the dirty wretched hovels of the lower Niger. Villages became numerous, and all exhibited a style of airiness and tidiness similar to the towns of Cameroons. Throngs of people occasionally crowded to the banks, and saluted the party with deafening shouts and screams and laughter.

Appearances
of cultivation
and comfort.

About three miles from the head of the delta, the Yabiang tributary came in from the west ; about three miles farther occurred a very shallow yet broad part of the river, with evident indications on the banks of such a great periodical rise as must inundate much of the surrounding country ; and a little farther on is the Wuri island, about five miles and a half long and three miles broad, with steep high banks, and a beautifully wooded surface, and with such an abundant population,

The Wuri
Island.

CHAP. XVIII. — that the rows of huts along a large portion of its beach form almost a continuous town. This is the commencement of the Wuri country, whose soil produces the most excellent yams, and whose population speak a different dialect from that of the inhabitants of the sea-board. The explorers sailed round the island,—making the upper end of it the termination of their ascent to the river; and they were everywhere enthusiastically greeted by the islanders. A singular but very effective mode of fishing was observed at parts where the high steep banks are flanked with very low swampy ground. Wide artificial trenches intersect the banks, and lead to the swamps, so that, at a rising of the river, a rush of water with its living freight of fish flows in, and forms large ponds, which are retained by means of sluices; and when the river falls, nets are placed along the trenches, the sluices are drawn, and all the finny multitude within are intercepted and taken.

A singular
mode of fish-
ing.

On his return down the Cameroons, Captain Allen turned aside to explore the Yabiang; but he found it much narrower than the parent river, and did not proceed far till he saw occasion to desist. He was told by natives that the town of Abo stands upon it at the distance of six hours' navigation from its mouth,—that there it is precipitated over rocks in a fall of about fifty feet,—and that, at a distance of four hour's farther travelling inland, there are a mountain and a town of the name of Wahpaki, the residence of a chief. He heard also of other streams and mountains, and concluded, from a comparison of the statements made to him, that either a range of upland summits or a lofty tableau extends eastward from the Cameroons Mountain at a distance of about one hundred miles from the coast, and that four streams descend thence in leaps and cataracts to the basin or lower valley of the Cameroons River. The utmost point of his exploration thitherward was about forty miles from the sea.

Reports of
the countries
in the inte-
rior.

Captain Allen afterwards made special examination of the Bay of Amboises, and saw cause to think it the most healthy retreat for ships on the west coast of Africa. It has stupendous scenery,—being overhung by the alpine summit of the Cameroons mountain, soaring thirteen thousand feet into the sky ; and it has three islands,—one of which bears the name of Pirate Isle, and is a curiosity. “This,” says he, “is a mere wreck of a larger island, as the numerous isolated fragments, perforated by the sea, and lying in its vicinity, bear witness of its having been formerly much more extensive. It is probable that it once joined the adjacent perpendicular cliff on the mainland, as the structure is similar, and between them there is but a narrow and shallow channel. Although it is much smaller than the other two islands, it is swarming with people, almost every available spot on its rugged surface being occupied by a hut. It is perpendicular on all sides, and the only access to the summit is by clambering up what appears to be the projection of a basaltic dike—a fearful path, passable for only one at a time, and which might be defended by a child. The inhabitants probably owe to their impregnable position the bad character they have among their neighbours. They are a ferocious-looking, though a shy race, but I never heard of any well authenticated charge of piracy against them. More correctly speaking, their secure position has probably engendered a spirit of independence, and a determination to resist oppression. The chief of Bimbia complained to me that they would not acknowledge his authority, nor comply with demands which I found were not so just as he alleged. These islanders are the principal fishermen of the bay, which in fine weather they cover with their light canoes. This enables them to obtain by barter from the mainland—with which they are in constant communication—the scanty clothing they require, and supplies of plantains, yams, &c. They were at first very much alarmed at our appear-

CHAP. XVIII

The Bay of Amboises.

The population of the Pirate Isle.

CHAP XVIII. ance, believing that we were come to put in execution the threats of King William of Bimbia ; but we soon became on better terms, and I landed several times, and climbed up to their curious village. At the summit of the path the island ridge is not I think ten feet across."

CHAPTER XIX.

Duncan, Richardson, and the French.

Ahguay; Whidah; the Hahotia River; Dahomey; the Kong Mountains; Adafoodiah—Travels and Discoveries in the Sahara; the Great Expedition from Tripoli to the Regions south of Lake Tchad—the French possession of Algiers; Sufferings of the French Army; War with the Kabyles; Expedition against the Emir Abd-el-Kader · Proposed great Explorations.

IN 1845, Mr. John Duncan, in the course of a trip CHAP. XIX.
from Cape Coast to Whidah, and of a journey from the
latter place to Adafoodiah, descried a number of inter-
esting novelties. Most of the ground had long been
generally known; but some old features of it had
changed, and some fine districts had never been ex-
plored. Mr. Duncan had taken part in the Government
Expedition to the Niger, and was still all on fire to Enterprise of
Mr. Duncan.
make discoveries on the west coast; and he eminently
possessed both tact and energy for the delicate task of
re-exploration.

He found Ahguay to be a pandemonium of the slave-
trade. It abounded with the crews of slavers, and with
Spanish and Portuguese slave-dealers. One of the ships
which frequented it was known far and wide for pre-
eminent infamy; and her former master had boasted,
that, when hard run by a man-of-war, he had killed his Debasement
of Ahguay.
whole cargo of slaves during the night, and thrown
them overboard, to prevent a capture. The chief cap-
tains, with their fetish men and women in the most
disgusting costumes, turned out to celebrate Mr. Dun-
can's arrival. They fired muskets, uttered hideous

CHAP. XIX.

Slave-dealers
at Popoe.

yells, performed barbarous dances, and for three long hours kept up a horrible hubbub ; and next morning they went in a crowd to demand payment for their "civility," protesting their friendship, and clamouring for rum. At Popoe, eight miles from Ahguay, were found an old man and two sons, who represented themselves as general merchants, and hoisted the British flag, while they really were the greatest slave-dealers on the coast ; and so inveterate and expert was their thievery that they actually kidnapped Mr. Duncan's own servant.

Serpent-wor-
ship at Whi-
dah.

The lagoon up to Whidah was beautiful ; and the roots and trunks of small mangroves on its banks were seen covered with oysters. The laws and manners of Whidah were found to be singularly absurd, and remarkably curious ; and the old, grotesque, monstrous one of serpent-worship still prevailed. Houses stood in different parts of the town for the reception of the serpents, of a round form, about eight feet in diameter, with two doorways, and a conical roof. The serpents are a species of boa-constrictor, and lie coiled on the top of the wall till hungry, and then crawl away in the night-time wherever they please, in search of prey. Whatever person sees one must instantly stop in his walk, or leave off his employment, to pick it up, and carry it back to the serpent-house ; and on his way, old men and old women eagerly fall prostrate before him, and beg to be rubbed by his odious burden. Lord Kames, in his "Sketches," notices these sacred serpents of the Whidans, and says it was a capital crime to kill them ; and he adds,—“In the year 1697, they gave occasion to a ridiculous persecution. A hog, teased by one of them, tore it with his tusks till it died. The priests carried their complaint to the king ; and, no one presuming to appear as counsel for the hogs, orders were issued for slaughtering the whole race. At once were brandished a thousand cutlasses ; and the race would have been extirpated, had not the king inter-

A crusade
against hogs.

posed, representing to the priests that they ought to rest satisfied with the innocent blood they had spilt.”

CHAP. XIX.

From Porto Sagoora—which is nearly one day's sailing by canoe westward of Ahguay—a lagoon leads to a lake of about six miles by five, and thence to two rivers. Mr. Duncan suspected these streams to be offsets of the Volta, and determined to explore them. He got together a party of canoemen and volunteers—one of the latter a quondam servant of Clapperton—and proceeded up to the lake. He there went to the shore at several towns, and at a very large market ; and, in spite of the place being so near the long and constant haunts of European traders, he proved to be a marvel to the inhabitants. They had never before seen a white man ; they left their goods and their occupations, and ran in thousands, men, women, and children, into the water waist-high, to look at him ; and whenever any got a fair view of his face, they shrunk back and retreated.

Exploration
inward from
Porto Sagoo-
ra.

He explored only one of the two rivers, and that not farther than about sixty miles from Whidah. Its name is the Hahotia ; and its direction is to the north-east. The canoemen were averse to ascend it, remarking that it was untraversed by man, and filled with monsters, and of enormous length ; and they could not be driven from their fears, and made to go on, by any means short of inspiring them with a greater terror. It proved to be a luxuriant stream, teeming with life, and rich in vegetation ; yet for twenty miles, it really showed not a trace of the step of man. Pelicans and large cranes on its banks seemed perfectly tame ; and alligators and rhinoceroses looked as if they had never before been disturbed. But, by and bye Mr. Duncan espied a native fishing party, consisting of seven men and a number of boys, the former armed with muskets ; and he landed and made friendship with them, and then retired to his canoe for the night. A double conspiracy was speedily concocted—the fishermen and the canoemen to trepan the traveller and seize his property

The Hahotia
River.

CHAP. XIX. —and the fishermen to retain the canoemen and sell them for slaves. And Mr. Duncan had a brisk adventure in defeating this conspiracy, and astonished the savages by his display of the white man's bravery; but felt obliged to relinquish all thought of going farther up the river.

The capital
and court of
Dahomey.

Mr. Duncan travelled in four days from Whidah to Abomey, the capital of the kingdom of Dahomey. He was equipped in the uniform of the Life Guards, and mounted on a good horse of the country. The king received him with all honour, and expressed great delight with his mode of salutation, and his military horsemanship, and exclaimed, in presence of his courtiers, "Now Dahomans may be proud when Queen of England send fine head soldier friendly messenger to their king." About six thousand female troops were reviewed before him, well armed and accoutred; and they had a surprisingly good appearance, and acquitted themselves to admiration.

The Kong
Mountains.

The traveller remained a week at Abomey, and then set out, with a Dahoman guard of an hundred men, toward the Mahee or Kong Mountains. By order of the king, a road had been cleared for him over a distance of more than a hundred miles, and provisions were in readiness at every little kroom and village. The Kong Mountains were found to have a different appearance and character, and even a different position, from what had been expected. They are very grand and imposing, and do not at all resemble any of the mountains of Europe. They look at a distance like immense piles of ruined colossal architecture; and seem, when more nearly approached, to consist of stupendous blocks, shaped like eggs, lying on their sides, and heaped on one another in confusion. Some of the blocks are 200 feet in length. Nearly all the towns of the region stand on the very tops of the mountains, and are built of clay, carried up from the adjacent plains. They are not proof against musketry; and more and more of

them were annually becoming subject to the Dahoman government, and did not seem at all to regret the loss of their rude independence. The ascent to some of them climbs almost perpendicular acclivities, and consists of flights of steps cut in the rock. In the Dahoman invasions, the practice was to make a reconnoitrement during the night ; and if the ascent was deemed practicable, the attack was made in the way of surprise early in the morning ; and if the ascent was deemed impracticable, a blockade or cordon was established, to cut off all communication both with the low country and with the contiguous mountains ; and as the time chosen was commonly a week or two before harvest, when the stock of housed provision was very low, a very short continuance of the blockade was usually successful. The poisoned arrows of the besieged sometimes worked havoc ; yet they were of poor avail against the muskets of the Dahomans.

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Mode of warfare on the mountains.

Mr. Duncan penetrated a long way beyond the Dahoman frontier. He left his guard at Baffo, there to wait his return to them ; and he thence proceeded with only four attendants, and was soon reduced to the dire shift of stealing corn for his subsistence. He felt urged forward, not more by a desire to explore the country as far as possible, than by a hope which had been kindled in him of obtaining definite information respecting the murder of Mungo Park. He found the country for upwards of 180 miles beyond the Kong Mountains almost a perfect level. Few streams of more than twenty or thirty yards in width traversed it ; the tracts near the towns were beautifully cultivated ; and all the other parts were very thinly peopled.

The country beyond the Kong Mountains.

Adafoodiah stands in about $13^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude and $1^{\circ} 3'$ east longitude ; and is therefore not a very long way distant from Timbuctoo. It is a town of considerable size, and has a large market, supplied with native trinkets from Bornou, and with articles of merchandise from the Mediterranean. Here Mr. Duncan met a Tri-

CHAP. XIX. — poli merchant whom he had seen at Egga, when with the Niger expedition; here also he met a Bornouese, a fine-looking man, who had been twenty-one years a slave in Bahia, and could speak the Spanish language; and here too he conversed with an old priest, a very tall, venerable-looking man, who had lived in the court of Yaowr at the time of Mungo Park's death, and had afterwards travelled over nearly the half of Africa, and been more than twenty times in Timbuctoo. This person said that Amadi Fatouma originated the outbreak against Park by making a complaint to the king, and that Park himself began the affray by cutting off the hand of one of the men who attempted to detain his canoe; and the priest said likewise that Timbuctoo was not so large as Adafoodiah, and was famed only as a great exchange-mart for goods, in consequence of the facilities of transport afforded by the influx of many voluminous streams to the Niger within one league of the town. Mr. Duncan's journey back to the coast was simply a retracing of his steps, and was not attended by any remarkable incident.

Account of
the death of
Mungo Park.

Newly discovered route
in the Sahara.

In the volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society published in 1846, is a communication from Mr. James Richardson, describing a newly discovered and very interesting route through part of the Sahara. This extends direct west, nearly in the parallel of the tropic of Cancer, from Ghat to Tawat. It comprises a journey of forty days at the ordinary rate of caravan travelling, but affords ample facilities for quicker rates of speed. It is well known to the native traffickers of a large portion of Central Africa; and serves both as a direct highway between the eastern and the western regions of the Sahara, and as part of a circuitous, frequented, comparatively safe route between north-eastern Soudan and Timbuctoo.

It contrasts amazingly to the old notion of the desert,—a vast, flat, sea-like expanse of burning, drift-

ing sand. All of it is more or less grandly diversified; much of it is rocky and screened by mountains; many parts abound with vegetation and flocks; and a large portion is well refreshed with rain and springs and streams, and feels to Africans not only cool but cold. The eastern division, to the extent of twelve days' journeying, is a region of massive rocks and mountainous ridges and inhabited intervals, many of the mountains soaring sublimely to the clouds, and innumerable rills gushing from cliffs and crevices, and running together to form far-spread perennial streams. The central division abounds in wells, and has one stream of size enough to be called a river, and comprises some wooded spots, some monuments of ancient times, and some thickly inhabited districts. The trees of at least one spot are large; the houses of another are surrounded with fenced court-yards; and the monuments of a third are rude, but very numerous, and indicate the ancient existence there of a considerable population. The western division is partly an alternation of valleys and wastes, with spots of verdure, clumps of palms and vines, and a comparative plenty of wells,—and partly an almost innumerable group of small oases, like so many islands in the Pacific, with two or three large towns, and a generally undulating surface. The extreme west end is a principal district of Tawat; and though flat and sandy, has a town and several villages and scattered houses, forests of date-palms, all sorts of grain, flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of camels and horses. But the route is infested at various points—perhaps nearly throughout—by bands of bold and ruthless robbers, and could not be safely traversed by an European without a strong armed escort.

Grand scenery in this route.

Vast group of small oases.

In the years 1845 and 1846, Mr. Richardson wandered far and near in the Great Desert, acquainting himself with both the country itself, and the language and manners of its inhabitants; and he afterwards published the results of his observations in two volumes, entitled

Mr. Richardson's wanderings in the Sahara.

CHAP. XIX. "Travels in the Sahara." These volumes throw much light on the obscure regions of Northern Africa; they notice some hundreds of miles of desert routes which no European had ever before traversed; they give interesting accounts of the oases and cities of Ghadames, Ghraak, and Mourzouk; and they describe several towns and cities of the desert which were previously known only by vague or uncertain native reports.

Great expedition from Tripoli to Central Africa.

But in the spring of 1850, Mr. Richardson set out on a vastly more important journey. This was no less than to conduct a great expedition from Tripoli to Lake Tchad, with the view of penetrating the hitherto unexplored regions of Central Africa. He was accompanied by Dr. Overweg, a distinguished German naturalist, and Dr. Heinrich Barth, who had previously travelled from Morocco to Egypt, and published a work entitled, "Wanderings along the Punic and Cyrenaic shores of the Mediterranean." Mr. Richardson was invested with diplomatic powers by the British government; and the two Germans were sanctioned and supported by the Geographical Society and the government of Prussia. All three were to proceed southward, as much as possible by new or obscure routes, till they reached the frontiers of Soudan; they were to rest there till the termination of the rainy season of the tropics; they were to go thence south-westward to Sackatoo and Kano, and thence eastward to Lake Tchad; and after exploring this, Mr. Richardson was to return to the Mediterranean by the old Bornou route, and Drs. Overweg and Barth were to attempt to penetrate to the sources of the White Nile, and thence to the east coast.

Preparations for the expedition.

A boat was constructed at Malta for navigating the inland waters,—a beautiful craft, broad in the beam, and as buoyant as cork; and lest this should be destroyed by some accident in the way to Lake Tchad, the travellers were well provided with tools and materials for building a substitute. All due appliances were procured for making scientific observations; every provision

which could be thought of was obtained for conciliating the good will of the natives and defeating their malice; and a large stock of merchandise was purchased to serve throughout the interior regions instead of money. The entire equipments formed a load for about forty camels. CHAP. XIX.

The travellers went from Tripoli to Mourzouk through a tract of country which no scientific observer had ever before explored. The route lay for the greater part of the way almost due south, and turned to the south-east on approaching Mourzouk. The district around the Garian pass, about thirty-five miles from Tripoli, has a rich red loamy soil, eminently fertile, and covered with most luxuriant crops of saffron and plantations of olive trees; and the conspicuous Mount Tekut, which soars aloft to the altitude of about 2,800 feet in the vicinity of the pass, is an erupted mass with a fine extinct crater. The tract thence to the well of Tabonia, in about 30° 28' north latitude, is a table-land, intersected by many deep valleys, carpeted high and low by a corn-bearing soil, and possessing a great abundance of ruins and remains of columns, towers, and Roman settlements. The next tract, extending about 110 geographical miles to the south, is the table-land of Hamada, considerably higher than the former, and dismally sterile. The surface of this is stony and almost level; the herbage is sickly and stunted, and exists in meagre sprinklings, "few and far between;" the only way-marks for wanderers or travellers are a few artificial heaps of stones; and the southern border presents no graduation of level or character, but falls sheer down, in a long line of stupendous precipice, to the Wady el Hessi. Another tableau, less elevated and less extensive, but equally dismal, and consisting all over of a crumbling black sandstone rock, extends about sixty geographical miles, from the Wady el Hessi to the Wady Shiali. The travellers now entered the oasis of Fezzan, with its yellow sandy soil and its wells and soft vales; and they there passed through a complete

The route
from Tripoli
to Mourzouk.

The table-
land of Ha-
mada.

The Oasis of
Fezzan.

CHAP. XIX. forest of palms, and a district of wheat and barley fields, and likewise traversed another small table-land.

Conjectures
respecting a
great central
alpine plateau.

They describe Mourzouk and its environs as a dreadful sand-pit, environed with sand-hills, and infested with pestilential vapours from adjacent salt lakes. A Baghirmi negro whom they met there, informed them that, to the south of his native country, live a nation who do not profess the Mahommedan faith, who inhabit a mountainous and snowy country, and who wear clothes, and have large herds of cattle, and possess war-axes of their own manufacture. This information combines with conjectures and facts which will come in our way in the next two chapters to suggest the probability of a great central alpine plateau, with climate and character far more genial to Europeans than any part of the African tropical lowlands. The travellers, at all events, drew inspiring hope from it that, when they should reach the southern screen of Lake Tchad, and just when their proper work of exploration should commence, the chief difficulties of their enterprise would be over.

They were joined at Mourzouk by a powerful Tuarick escort, under several chiefs. The leader of the whole was Hatitla, who escorted Oudney and Clapperton to Ghat, and calls himself "the friend of the English." But he was now old and decrepit, and able to travel at only a slow pace; and he afterwards occasioned them great retardation in their journey; nor, when they came to a pinch, did he prove so faithful as they had full right to expect.

Departure
from Mour-
zouk.

They left Mourzouk on the 12th of June, in good health and spirits. They soon had convincing evidence that they were approaching the torrid zone; for when they retreated from the weltering sunshine to their tents, and felt the air there to be *cool*, they looked to their thermometers and saw that that *cool* air had a temperature of nearly 108° Fahrenheit. Many sculptures were discovered by them,—most with predomi-

nating figures of the camel; but by far the most interesting occurred in a valley about 110 miles from Mourzouk. These bore a striking resemblance to the sculptures of Egypt, and were manifestly of high antiquity, and probably related to some period of Libyan history when oxen were the only beasts of burden in use. One was a fine group of oxen going to a watering-place,—most tastefully designed and skilfully executed; and another comprised two human figures, bird and bull-headed, armed with arrows, spears, and shields, and combating for a child.

The travellers took thirty-six days to go from Mourzouk to Ghat,—thrice the time taken by ordinary caravans. The tract which they traversed here was similar to the desert tableaux north of the oases, but with less elevation, sharper features, and more fertility. The summits both of table-lands and of ridges were pointed, edged, and knife-like; and the vales and hollows had copious wells, a few pools, much herbage, and several species of trees, and were enlivened with fowls, dormice, hares, foxes, and gazelles; and some of the larger ones near Ghat also contained numerous traces of wild asses.

The travellers remained in Ghat a week; but they were incessantly harassed by the rapacity of the chiefs, and the fanaticism of the inhabitants; and, except when occasionally asked to give medical attendance, they had few opportunities of examining the town and the surrounding country. They were now on the verge of the worst part of their route. A broad, wild region was before them, intersected by gullies, tumulated into steep and mountains, and scoured by small tribes of ruthless robbers. The earlier part has a physical character not unlike the desert regions they had already traversed; but the parts farther on are granitic and micaceous, and rise up in lumpish, lofty, diversified masses; and at the time when the travellers passed, they were swept by frequent thunderstorms and heavy

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The country
between
Mourzouk
and Ghat.

The country
south of
Ghat.

CHAP. XIX. rains. The first place of any note after Ghat, yet this a very small place, and deriving all its consequence from comparison with the desolateness around it, is Taradshit, situated in about $20^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and $9^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude; the next is Selufiet, three days further on, within the frontier of the kingdom of Aïr or Asben; and the next is Tin-Tellus, three days' journey beyond Selufiet, and the residence of the Sultan of the Keloës. The kingdom of Aïr is the most powerful in Northern Soudan except Bornou; and, up to the time of the present expedition, was never explored by Europeans.

The journey
from Ghat to
Taradshit.

The travellers left Ghat on the 25th of July; and in two days, they joined a Keloë caravan; and thence till they reached Aïr, they had a guard of Tenelkum-Tuaricks upon all their own camels, and were at the same time under escort of the Keloës. They set off in high spirits; and during the first fortnight, they travelled from ten to twelve hours a-day, and made rapid progress; but afterwards, they were obliged, for the sake of both themselves and the camels, to slacken their speed. They reached Taradshit on the 22nd of August, but had to fight their way to it for several days; and then they were only getting into the thick of danger, on the southern frontier of the desert, at the retreats and fastnesses of outlaw bandits from the populous plains below; and they had hot work and heavy before they reached Selufiet.

Contrasts between the
desert and
Soudan.

Dr. Overweg, writing from that place on the 28th of August, says:—"At length, we have the great desert behind us, and have arrived on the frontiers of Soudan. We are in a new world, surrounded with new plants, of luxuriant verdure, of which we have been so long deprived. We see new animals, and our tents are pitched within the encampments of the people of Aïr. But though the tedious journey across the desert is accomplished, our thoughts are not yet sufficiently collected, and the state of our minds is not yet sufficiently quiet,

to allow us to look back calmly on all that we have had to undergo. The events and dangers of the last few days are still too vividly before us,—and even now we have not yet reached a place of safety. During the last ten days, our march has been one of constant warfare,—as we have had to pass the dangerous frontiers between the Asger and the Hagar-Tuaricks and the Keloës, (another tribe of Tuaricks). Day and night we were followed and surrounded by numbers of Hagars, on their Meharis, with the intent to murder and plunder us. On the 25th of August, we were attacked by about forty armed men, mounted on camels,—and last night our caravan had to withstand an hundred of the enemy. In both instances the result was the same. They first demanded nothing less than the lives of all the Christians in the caravan; they then required that the Christians should either become Mussulmans on the spot, or else should return to Ghat; and eventually we had to pay a high ransom, consisting of all our best merchandise. That we did not lose all our effects, instruments, and even our lives, we owe to the conduct and exertion of the Keloës, and the bravery of the Tenelkum-Tuaricks, who had our effects under their charge. These latter had among them in all fourteen guns (muskets), which rendered them an imposing force against the enemy. Here, at Selufiet—a place consisting of huts built of grass—there is a sort of government, under sound religious Mussulmans (Marabouts), with a sheriff of Mekka at their head; and at this place we are safer than in the Wadys, where every Hagar considers himself a sheikh.”

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Conflicts
with the
desert rob-
bers.

The state of
things at
Selufiet.

Even the inhabitants around Selufiet proved hostile and seized all the camels. But the Marabouts happily took a fancy that the travellers were patronised by something in the Koran; and they undertook to protect them to Tin-Tellus. Repose and hope now succeeded excitement and peril. The travellers reached Tin-Tellus in safety; and after waiting till the termination

CHAP. XIX. of the rainy season, they resumed their journey into Soudan amid the most cheering prospects of success. But, in a few weeks, the expedition broke suddenly down by the death of Mr. Richardson; and, though afterwards carried on to the extent of some important discoveries around Lake Tchad and to the west, it was embarrassed by many difficulties, and eventually lost its right arm in the death of Dr. Overweg.

The French
possession of
Algiers.

The French got possession of the city of Algiers in 1830; and they are now the nominal masters of a great territory around it, which extends about five hundred miles along the Mediterranean, and backward thence to the borders of the Sahara. But all their connexion with this region has been a continual adventure; and, except for its military and political character, it might serve almost as well as the long, chequered, perilous progress of geographical exploration to illustrate the striking peculiarities of African character and scenery. And so strange has it been, so different from almost every thing else in the modern relations of Europe to Africa,—so stern the struggle of a mighty nation with a few small semi-barbarous tribes,—so feeble the effort of the expertest European prowess to tame the wildness of one of the nearest, mildest, longest-known portions of the African continent,—that a brief notice of some main facts and specimen incidents of it seems now essential to the completeness of this volume.

Difficulties of
the conquest.

The French did not take the city of Algiers till they had first blockaded it for three years, and then bombarded it. Their conquering army was nearly 38,000 strong, irrespective of marines. Their victorious general, Marshal Bourmont, eventually returned to Europe in a merchant-vessel, freighted at his own expense. Fresh armies as numerous as the original one, or at least series of reinforcements amounting to such, were every year required for maintaining the conquests, and extending them. The total loss of men by sickness and by the



VIEW OF ALGIERS.

fire of the enemy, during the first fifteen years, was upwards of half a million. Yet the troops were singularly brave, and had high advantages over the foe, and were commanded by heroes. The cavalry struck terror into the Africans by their furious charges; the infantry often overwhelmed them by the power of their tactics; and the engineers and artillery sometimes looked not only to the enemy, but even to their own army, as if they were doing supernatural things. Marshal Bugeaud, who very long held the chief command, and who planned and executed many of the grandest expeditions, displayed constant, eminent, far-sighted vigour, and was said to have formed a firm purpose either to subjugate all the hostile tribes or to exterminate them. General Cavaignac, too, who led a great expedition into the Desert, and afterwards, in a moment of tremendous peril, was made Dictator of France, is known to the world as one of the bravest of living men.

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The bravery
of the
French.

The natives of a large proportion of Algeria, nevertheless, have not been much frightened, and cannot be said to have resigned their independence. The Moors and other classes on the sea-board are rather overawed than subjugated. The Kabyles in the mountains, the descendants of the ancient Numidians, are not even overawed, but only driven to sullenness and to stealthy revenge. And the Bedouin Arabs, who inhabit the farther side of the Atlas, and combine the blood of the ancient Vandals with the nerve and venom of the mediæval Moslems, continue wherever they can in open hostility, and think the practice of it a glorious virtue. "I do not hesitate to assert," said General Bugeaud, after he had retired from the chief command, "that the same or nearly the same amount of force as will have effected the conquest will be indispensable for its maintenance. The Arabs are proud and warlike. The war of tribe against tribe is their normal state. From their infancy all the males, without exception, are trained to the use of arms and the management of horses; and

The resist-
ance of the
natives

CHAP. XIX. they are incessantly engaged in hazardous enterprises.

Pertinacity
of the Moors
and Arabs.

We cannot think of diminishing our force in presence of such a population. We should soon suffer from such an act of imprudence. The history of the Arabs shows us how prompt they are to revolt; and their antipathy for us and for our religion will last for ages." And said the Count St. Marie in 1846, "Viewing on the one hand the French army of 100,000 men, so brave and warlike, and on the other hand the Arab and Moorish population, one cannot withhold from the latter a sentiment of admiration. Enclosed within a narrow circle, under an incessant and active watch, almost destitute of arms, without resources, without means of concentration, they, nevertheless, rise up bravely twice every year. When the Barbary fig and the orange are ripe, the war-cry resounds through the mountains, and the night-fires blaze on the heights of the Atlas. These are the signal for the tribes in the plain. The men mount their horses, fall upon the advanced posts, and pillage and slaughter all the French they can find. Then some of our columns arrive, bury the dead, and should some of the unfortunate Arabs escape into their caves, they are roasted, and this is called a victory."

Struggles
with the Ka-
byles.

The struggle with the Kabyles has been a contest for the great natural strongholds of the country, and has been peculiarly stern and fierce. An instance will illustrate it. The French continued in 1840 to possess no more of the upland region from Algiers all eastward to Dschigeli than about half a square mile enclosed within a line of blockhouses. A battalion of the Foreign Legion spent alternately a fortnight in these blockhouses and a fortnight in the town of Dschigeli. One morning before sunrise, when they were in the blockhouses, a tribe of Kabyles rushed impetuously down upon them from the mountains. The assailants pressed at once upon all the outer walls, climbed them, chased the troops headlong within doors, seized the guns, and began to storm the blockhouses. But a sudden shower of

musket-shot and hand-grenades was poured on them through opened planks from the upper storey, and compelled them to desist and flee. CHAP. XIX.

The whole garrison, one night, marched into the mountains to punish them for their exploit. They were led by Arab guides, and arrived at the tribe's village at the break of dawn. "An old Kabyle was at that moment going out with a pair of oxen to plough. As soon as he saw them, he uttered a fearful howl and fled; but a few well-directed shots brought him down. In one moment, the grenadiers and voltigeurs, who were in advance, broke through the hedge of prickly pear which generally surrounds a Kabyle village, and the massacre began. Strict orders had been given to kill all the men, and to take only the women and children prisoners. A few men only reeled half awake out of their huts; but most of them still lay fast asleep. Not one escaped death. The women and children rushed, howling and screaming, out of their burning huts in time to see their husbands and brothers butchered. One young woman, with an infant at her breast, started back at the sight of strange men, exclaiming, 'Mohammed! Mohammed!' and ran into her burning hut. Some soldiers sprang forward to save her; but the roof had already fallen in, and she and her child perished in the flames." The troops promptly collected cattle and other booty, and departed with all possible haste; but they were hotly pursued by other tribes of Kabyles, who flocked in from neighbouring villages,—and they made a narrow escape down the mountain to their fortalices. The survivors of the massacre—poor desolated creatures!—afterwards paid full and ready ransom for all the captured women and children.

Massacre of
a Kabyle vil-
lage.

A chief leader of the Arabs against the French was an Emir of the name of Abd-el-Kader. He had unbounded influence among his people, in consequence of being both their prince and their high-priest,—both

The Emir
Abd-el-Ka-
der.

CHAP. XIX. their political master, and the reputed vicegerent of Mahommed. The French at first laughed at him; but they soon learned to regard him as a very formidable foe; and, in the summer of 1841, they sent an expedition of 12,000 men, to march rapidly over the Atlas, and catch him in his fastness. He knew well when to fight and when to flee,—when to stand close, and when to work with flying squadrons,—when to debouch on the plains, and when to roost among the mountains; and he had also innumerable scouts and spies,—and altogether was almost as difficult to be got at as if he could have gone up to an eyrie, or to the clouds like an eagle. The invading army were quite aware of his character; and they set out with all possible secrecy, and conducted their march with red-hot eagerness.

Expedition
against Abd-
el-Kader.

The pass of
the Col de
Massaia.

A party sent on before hand took possession of the deep gorge of the Col de Massaia. This was the only available pass by which the army could cross the Lesser Atlas, and might be defended by a handful of men against myriads. Towering rocks ascend to the sky on one side; a mural precipice soars sheer up on the other; and patches and sheets of brushwood and olive-trees and conifers occupy every shelf and tiny tableau, and give shelter to multitudes of vultures and jackals. The army marched several days onward through the mountains, ever up hill, or down hill, panting with exertion, and weltering in sweat, but never seeing an enemy. The cavalry scoured the country, but found no traces of human beings save a few small miserable hovels, made of rushes and skins, and scarcely fit for a dog to live in; and had they not seen in the valleys well cultivated fields of grain, they might have supposed that the whole district was uninhabited. But as they toiled on through the Greater Atlas, where all seemed to be tumultuous mountain, "hills above hills and alps on alps," they descried Bedouin videttes, single horsemen in white berouses, peering from all the chief summits, and retiring as they approached. The army as yet had little to do

Progress
through the
Greater At-
las.

but to keep together and hurry on, and were refreshed by springs of water, and by the shade of immense forests of olives, firs, and junipers ; but by and bye, they passed over bare hills and across arid valleys, and on toward the desert, and then they found themselves in the presence of a foe. CHAP. XIX
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The Bedouins appeared in great and increasing numbers. They did not occupy any post, or resist the head of the army, or approach in any embattled array ; but they hovered constantly on the flanks and rear, and kept whirring and careering round all day long like a cloud of flies, every man galloping to within eighty or an hundred yards of the ranks, discharging his rifle at full speed, wheeling instantly away, loading his piece as he retreated, and repeating his attacks with incessant activity and untiring zeal. The invaders could neither defend themselves nor make any efficient reprisal. They had nothing for it, from sunrise to sunset, but to march on and fire at random. They once thought, after several successive days of this work, that they had reached the den of their tormentors—a town on a tabular hill ; and they climbed up in furious haste to crush the inhabitants ; but they found neither men nor spoil,—nothing but forsaken huts and naked walls. Attacks by
the Bedou-
ins.

The army soon entered what is called the Lesser Desert. All before them was an expanse of sand, stretching away to the horizon ; and all behind was an undulating desolation, westward and eastward to the distant Atlas. They were scorched with heat, tortured with thirst, and dizzy with fatigue ; but they now saw few Bedouins, or were well protected from them by outspread flanks of sharp-shooters ; and they hastened on in keen expectation of a reward for all their sufferings, in the capture of Abd-el-Kader. At length they approached his fastness ; they seized his castle. But the bird had fled ; every object of their hope was gone. They had no alternative but to return to the coast in the same fashion in which they had come. How many The invaders
in the Lesser
Desert.

CHAP. XIX. laggarads lay behind in the way, how many sick perished by disease, how many starvings sank under thirst and famine, and how many brave strong men fell by the Arab rifles, we know not. But only a remnant ever again saw the Mediterranean ; and these arrived in tatters, and so lank and mummified, that "not even Shylock himself could have cut one pound of flesh out of the whole column."

Other doings
of the French
in Algiers.

We might tell many other tales of what the French have done and suffered in a military way in Algiers ; we might tell also what important things they have done there civilly and economically ; but if we did, we should wander far out of the proper limits of this volume ; and we, therefore, shall merely hint, in conclusion, that they have begun to exert an influence from that region upon all Central and Western Africa. An energetic young native of the banks of the Gambia, named Panet, who had acquired some experience in French affairs, was not long ago appointed by the French government to undertake a journey across the Sahara, with the view of opening an inland communication between Algiers and Senegal. A proposal was made to the French government, much about the same time, by Colonel Ducouret, for a very extensive journey or series of journeys into the interior from Senegal, and was accepted. And another project was recently got up by Dr. Bodichon of Algiers, to conduct a political, commercial, and scientific expedition, under aid of 300 or 400 trusty Africans, and an armed battalion of seasoned Frenchmen, with a special view to open a large trade between the shores of the Mediterranean and all Sudan.

Projected ex-
plorations for
the promo-
tion of com-
merce.

CHAPTER XX.

Explorations in the Basin of the Upper Nile.

Revived interest respecting the Sources of the Nile—Descriptive View of the Nile's Basin—Bruce—Salt—The Church Missionaries—Ruppell—Combes and Tamisier—Von Kalte—Schimper—The Abaddies—Lefevre—Rochet—Beke—Harris—Many other Travellers—Egyptian Expeditions—Supposed origin of the White Nile in the Mono-Moezi country—Discovery of the Snowy Mountains.

ABYSSINIA, together with Nubia, is the subject of a separate volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library; and on that account, it was not noticed in former editions of the present volume. But now some brief mention of recent explorations in it has become essential to a “Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa.”

Enquiry for the source of the Nile was a favourite theme among the ancients—including Sesostris, Cambyses, Alexander, Ptolemy, Philadelphus, Cæsar, Nero, and not a few others of lofty station, and continued to be so among the moderns till Peter Pacy and many of the native Abyssinians, and finally our own Bruce, were believed to have found it. But in the recent progress of African discovery, the Nile of Bruce was first suspected, and next ascertained, to be merely a tributary. A search for the source of the true Nile then succeeded the search for the outlet of the Niger as the grand problem of African geography; and it has for the last fifteen years occupied the earnest attention of all scientific geographers. All Abyssinia, at the same time, and

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Ancient enquiry for the source of the Nile.

CHAP. XX. all the upland region conterminous with it, have become an object of attention and importance to merchants, politicians, philanthropists, and every other well-informed class of the general community. The British settlement at Aden, the political mission to Shoa, the steam navigation of the Red Sea, and some other great recent political circumstances and international arrangements, have raised throughout most countries of Europe, and very specially throughout the British empire, a demand for information respecting all the wide-spread wondrous region of the Upper Nile. The ancient celebrity of that region, and the modern mystery which hangs over it, have immensely stimulated the inquiry. The result of all is that, during the last twenty years, a far greater number of arduous explorations have been made in the country between Nubia and the equator, than in any other ill-known or unknown region of equal extent in Africa.

Special recent interest in the Basin of the Upper Nile.

As a large portion of this subject belongs distinctly to another volume, we shall not do more here than merely note such exploratory travels as have been of a political, general, or rambling kind, and sketch very briefly the attempts which have been made to reach the sources of the Nile. But, in order that the explorations may be readily intelligible, we shall first give a descriptive hint or two respecting the configuration of the river's basin.

The peculiar character of the Nile.

The Nile is the largest river in Africa, and one of the most wonderful in the world. It is fed, through innumerable head streams, by the rains of the tropics; and then glides under an arid sky into the temperate zone, and on to the Mediterranean. It descends in full-formed volume from the skirts of a vast, intricate, stupendous region of alpine uplands; and then rolls along a burning plain, between thirsty deserts, without perceptible diminution, till it dispreads itself into many lakes and channels athwart its delta. For fourteen hundred miles or upwards from its mouth, it receives not a single tributary; and over all that distance it flows

somewhat parallel to the Red Sea, and is separated from it by comparatively low ground. Its first great affluent is the Atbarah or Tacazze. This enters its right side, near the 18th degree of latitude, at the northern limit of the tropical rains; and brings down the drainage of the greater part of Tigré or Northern Abyssinia. About 160 miles farther up, in the vicinity of Khartum, occurs the confluence of the Blue Nile and the White Nile, so called from the respective colour of their waters. The Blue Nile is much the smaller of the two, yet, through all the middle ages and down to our own day, had the reputation of being the true or parent Nile. It descends from Sennaar, from Amhara or Central Abyssinia, from Shoa or Southern Abyssinia, and from some adjacent countries inhabited by independent or mountain tribes of the Gallas. One great head stream of it called the Abai, and rising in Amhara, was supposed, till a few years ago, to be its furthest source, and is the Nile of Bruce; but another great head-stream, called the Dedhesa, and rising in regions southwest of Shoa, is now known to be both larger and longer. The White Nile descends from Kordofan, Darfoor, Donga, and some extensive unexplored regions west and south and east of these; and probably comes on one side from the confines of Nigritia, on another from the equator or beyond it, and on another from a cloud-cleaving line of watershed adjacent to the sources of the Dedhesa, and comparatively little remote from the sea-board of the Indian Ocean. During keen and long debates which have of late abounded respecting its furthest head-stream, two main theories are contended for,—the one pointing to a source which has been reached, in lat. $7^{\circ} 20'$ N. and long. $35^{\circ} 20'$ E., and the other pointing to a source, not actually ascertained, but inferentially fixed, about two degrees south of the equator, and between the 29th and 34th degrees of east longitude.

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The Blu
Nile.The White
Nile.Theories as
to the source
of the White
Nile.

The river-system of the Nile from the sources to the confluences is of great extent, and profusely ramified.

CHAP. XX. The basin of it is a lofty tableau, ridged and clumped with high mountains, and intersected in all directions with deep, curving, romantic valleys. The eastern rim everywhere approaches so near the Red Sea as to make all the streams which descend thither mere brawling rivulets and tumbling torrents; and at Kalai, about twenty-seven miles from the shore in the vicinity of Massowa, it has a height of 8,625 feet. The surface of the tableau is not a platform or even a system of platforms, but a series of undulating plains, divided from one another by ridges and valleys, and making an aggregate, gradual, slow declination toward the grand trunk of the river. Some of the mountain masses form extensive ridges, with summits of from 3000 to 7000 feet above the level of the adjacent plains, or of from 11,000 to 15,000 above the level of the sea. Others have remarkable outlines, and exhibit rare blendings of romance and grandeur,—either shooting up in sharp peaks from grotesque bases and fantastic forms,—or disspreading flat, thin, square surfaces on tall narrow pedestals, and looking like prodigious types of grave-yard monuments,—or rising sharply up in architectural symmetry with the shape of obelisks, or prisms, or pyramids, or even of inverted pyramids, pitched upon their points and carrying their bases in the air. Many of the uplands also are brilliantly beautiful and most lusciously picturesque. “As if by the touch of the magician’s wand,” says Sir W. C. Harris, respecting the sudden transition from the plains of Adel to the Alps of Shoa, “the scene now passes in an instant from parched and arid wastes to the green and lovely highlands of Abyssinia, presenting one sheet of rich and thriving cultivation. Each fertile knoll is crowned with its peaceful hamlet; each rural vale traversed by its crystal brook, and teeming with herds and flocks. The cool mountain zephyr is redolent of eglantine and jasmine; and the soft green turf, span- gled with clover, daisies, and buttercups, yields at every step the aromatic fragrance of the mint and thyme.”

The great
tableau of the
Upper Basin.

The High-
lands of
Abyssinia.

The young streams, in most parts of the tableau, are little better than muddy rills, evaporating off to nothing in the dry season, and swelling out to turbid wide-spread floods in the season of the rains. They are quiet and slow till they reach the edge of the platforms on which they rise, and then they rush into narrow fissures, and trot down widening gullets, and career over shelving descents, and tumble and leap over escarpments and precipices, so that many of them, in the course of two or three dozens of miles, make an aggregate descent of several thousand feet. For example, the Abaï rises at an elevation of about 9000 feet, makes a descent of about 3000 in its first grand sweep to the cataract called "the Smoke of Fire," descends about 2200 in the next twenty-five miles to the "Broken Bridge," and descends nearly 1000 more in the next eighty miles. The united affluents or grand tributaries, therefore, roll along very deep valleys, and are as sedate in their movement as they are majestic in their volume; and the main stream of the Blue Nile, the White Nile, and the Upper United Nile, is no brisker in current than the Nile of Nubia and Egypt, and looks, in the dry season, rather like a series of lakes and swamps, than like the ceaseless tide of a mighty river. Two seemingly opposite characters are thus united—environment by alpine mountains and navigableness by considerable craft; so that readers who reflect on the upper basin of the Nile, on its great distance from the river's mouths, and on the great altitude of its general level, need not be startled to learn that it has been explored a long way up by means of sailing vessels and boats.

Bruce has been generally regarded for about seventy years past, and perhaps may be popularly regarded for a good many more to come, as the grand traveller of Abyssinia and the Nile. He was long suspected to be a romancer; but is now known, on abundant evidence, to have been as truthful as he was indefatigable. His ponderous and fascinating book of seven volumes is no

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The head-streams of the Nile.

The grand tributary-streams.

The character of Bruce as a traveller.

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M'Queen's
opinion of
Bruce.

doubt inferior in freshness, and novelty, and extent of range, to not a few of the multitude which have since been written ; yet, in general worth, it still continues, with but one exception, to be the best which we possess on Abyssinia. "The information which he collected," remarks Mr. M'Queen, "was not only extensive, but accurate and important. If he had been fortunate enough to have had an Arrowsmith or a Wyld at his elbow, to delineate on a map the information which he had collected, the great features of all the most important portions of the geography of Africa north of the equator would have been placed before the eyes of Europe sixty years ago." These remarks, however, apply only to Abyssinia, and have no reference to the upper and main parts of the basin of the White Nile, and make no apology for Bruce's enormous blunder of assuming the Abaï, the mere tributary of a tributary, to be the parent river.

Lord Valen-
tia and Mr.
Salt.

Lord Valentia and Mr. Salt visited Abyssinia in 1805 ; and Salt alone, as Envoy of the British Government, in 1809. The facts in the former case are narrated in "Annesley's Voyages and Travels," and in the latter, in "Salt's Voyage to Abyssinia and Travels in the Interior." Salt roughly mapped the country, and gave it a sort of chorographical shape. Two of Lord Valentia's followers, Pearce and Coffin, remained behind him, and became explorers. Pearce lived many years in the country ; and a narrative of his life and adventures was published in 1819. Coffin settled down in Tigré, and there adopted the native customs, and became a petty governor.

The Mission-
aries Gobat
and Kugler.

The Rev. Samuel Gobat and the Rev. Christian Kugler, the first of a succession of missionaries to Abyssinia from the Church Missionary Society, landed at Masowa on the Red Sea in December 1829. They went primarily to propagate the gospel, but were warmly animated also by the spirit of adventure. Abyssinia's marvellous mixture of Mahommedanism and

Paganism, of nominal Christianity and practical infidelity, invoked their most strenuous exertions as missionaries; and its wonderful combinations of ancient fame and topographical obscurity, and of the sublimest and most curious styles of landscape with the gentlest and most beautiful, invoked them scarcely less to enthusiastic and untiring explorations as travellers. Mr. Gobat speedily penetrated to Gondar, and was the first European who visited that capital after Bruce. He returned to Europe in 1833, and gave to the world the results of his travels and observations in a volume entitled "Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia." Three other missionaries soon went to Tigré, and commenced operations; but, in the beginning of 1838, in consequence of opposition raised to them by the native priesthood, they were forced to leave Abyssinia.

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Mr. Gobat at Gondar.

Two of the expelled missionaries, Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf, felt the affront put upon them only as an incentive to greater enterprise; and, after much thought and contrivance, they determined to make an attempt to reach the independent state of Shoa, by a road which was then unfrequented. They landed at Tajurra, considerably south of the Strait of Babelmandeb; and thence they pushed their way, in a journey of thirty-five days, through many and formidable difficulties, to the Shoan frontier. The king gave them an audience on the 7th of June 1839, and bade them welcome. They remained together till November, prosecuting the objects of their mission, and obtaining a great variety of information. Mr. Krapf then was left alone, and got deep into the king's confidence, and afterwards accompanied him on several expeditions westward and southward into the country of the Gallas, whose territories extend far among the unknown table-lands of Central Africa. But in the spring of 1842, when moving toward Gondar on a journey to Egypt, he was arrested by a convulsion of war, and forced away to the seat of a

Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf in Shoa.

CHAP. XX. Galla chief, who acted collusively with the king of Shoa, and was there robbed of all he possessed. On being let go, he had no alternative but to travel northward by another unfrequented road, through Arcgot, a fertile province of the Central Abyssinian uplands, inhabited principally by Gallas; and he reached Massowa in the month of May. An interesting volume, detailing all the main incidents, was published by the Church Missionary Society, entitled the "Journals of the Rev. Messrs. Isenberg and Krapf." These two missionaries, along with another, landed again at Tadjurra in December 1842, with the view of renewing their enterprise; but in consequence of orders from the king of Shoa to the Dankali tribes, they were not permitted to go forward.

Dr. Edward
Rüppell.

Dr. Edward Rüppell, a distinguished German naturalist, made two journeys into Abyssinia, and was assisted in his explorations by his jäger, named Martin Bretza. He landed at Massowa in 1831, and travelled by Takir-akkira and Gondar to the bridge over the Abaï, and returned to Europe in 1833. He also traversed Nubia, and penetrated to Kordofan; and his jäger went into Shoa, and spent several years in making researches. Dr. Rüppell made a vast collection of animals, including many new species; and he published a splendid work, which has thrown great light on the natural productions of the central and upper regions of the basin of the Nile.

Messrs.
Combes and
Tamisier.

Messrs. Combes and Tamisier, two French gentlemen, travelled in Abyssinia from April 1835 to June 1836. They went from Massowa through Gondar and the country of the Wollo Gallas to Shoa, and then returned, going westward across the Abaï a short distance into Gojam, and northward through Begemidir and Tigré. They were the first Europeans, since the time of the Portuguese acquaintance with Ethiopia, who had visited the greater portion of the districts through which they passed; and they were well able

to have made splendid additions to our knowledge of the country ; but unfortunately they vitiated all they did by adapting their route and observations to Salt's rough map of Abyssinia. CHAP. XX.

The Baron von Kalte, a German, landed at Massowa in 1836, with the magnificent intention of penetrating into the countries south-west of Abyssinia ; but when in Hamazen, he was robbed of all he possessed, and obliged to retrace his steps ; and he had some difficulty in getting back to the coast. The results of his observations were published in a small work in German, entitled "Travels in Abyssinia in the years 1836 and 1837." The Baron von Kalte.

Dr. Schimper, another German, went into Tigré some short time before the beginning of 1838, and made a narrow escape from being expelled thence along with the Church Missionaries. He ingratiated himself with influential natives, and eventually married an Abyssinian lady, and became naturalised for life. His original object was scientific, principally botanical ; and he prosecuted it with so much vigour, that he probably became acquainted, in a few years, with every species of plant in Tigré and Samen. Some valuable and interesting communications from him in the "Allgemeine Zeitung," have attracted great attention in Germany.

Messrs. Antoine D'Abaddie and Arnault D'Abaddie, two Frenchmen, and brothers, went into Tigré in 1838, and proceeded to Gondar. Arnault went thence to Gojam, and remained there some time, and accompanied the prince of that country on a warlike expedition into the Galla districts of Kuthai and Liban, to the south of the Abaï. Antoine returned to Europe for a short time, and went again to Abyssinia in 1840. The two brothers seem now to have devoted their existence to explorations in the basin of the Upper Nile ; and at one time prior to 1848, they were not heard of during the long period of three years ; and they have made communications of great geographical value to the Bulletin de la Société de Géographie of Paris. Messrs. D'Abaddie

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The river
Gódjeb.

visited the source of the Abaï, and determined its elevation by the boiling of water to be 9206 feet. Bruce had estimated it at upwards of two miles, or about 11,000 feet. But Antoine gave his main strength to a search for the source of the White Nile; and after numerous inquiries, and laborious calculations, and enormous journeyings, he identified this with the head of the Gódjeb, in lat. $7^{\circ} 20'$ N., and long. $35^{\circ} 20'$ E., or about $1\frac{1}{2}$ degree west of Sakka, the capital of Enarea. This river, he asserts, was known to the ancient Arabs as the Bahr-el-Abiad, or White Nile; and is now called Gódjeb, or Godeb, by the Gallas, but bears different names among the several surrounding tribes. It rises between two high hills, in an immense forest, not far from the sources of four other streams; and, in the early part of its course, it performs a great curve round the district of Kaffa, in precisely the same way as the Abaï does round the peninsula of Gojam. The forest around it is traversed by the caravans of Kaffa, and is so great and dense that travellers passing through it cannot for four or five successive days get a glimpse of sunshine. But notwithstanding the laboriousness of M. D'Abadie's investigations, and the high order of his qualifications, and the confidence with which he speaks, he probably has made as grave a mistake about the Gódjeb as Bruce did about the Abaï. Dr. Beke pronounced it a secondary affluent of the White Nile; Mr. M'Queen and Sir W. C. Harris contend that it does not belong to the Nile basin at all, but descends to the Indian Ocean; and the great majority of scientific geographers either firmly reject its claim to be considered the White Nile, or hold their judgment upon it in suspense.

Messrs. Lefevre, Dillon,
and Petit.

Messrs. Lefevre, Dillon, and Petit, landed at Massowa, in June 1839, professedly on a scientific exploration. Mr. Lefevre had formerly made a short visit to Tigré. The three travellers proceeded southward, and arrived in Shoa in the spring of 1843; and they accompanied the king of that country in one of his expeditions to the

frontiers of Gurague and Enarea. They did not afterwards traverse much new ground; and all three soon died. But M. Lefevre sent to Europe some interesting information respecting the character and commerce of the people on the Blue Nile, and respecting the mountainous district of Bertha, situated between that river and its tributary, the Tumat. Gold dust is found in the alpine streams of Bertha, and either in its crude state, or worked into wire of various thickness, is the grand article of exchange in all the surrounding country.

M. Rochet D'Hericourt entered Shoa by the route of Tajurra, in September 1839, and returned next spring by the same route, carrying with him various presents for the king of France. He went back in 1842, taking with him return presents; and he went a third time, before 1848, specially charged by the French Academy to conduct certain observations in magnetism and meteorology. He has been accused of intrigue, and of raising disfavour against the Church Missionaries; yet he unquestionably was devoted to the interests of geography and science. He ascertained, among other new facts, that the Lake Zowaga has no manner of connection with the Hawash, but sends its superfluent waters to the Abai; he confirmed, by examination and experiment, the extraordinary fact, announced by Dr. Beke, that the Lake Assal has a depression beneath the level of the sea, similar to that of the Lake Asphaltites, in Palestine, though only about half as great,—he making it to be 714 feet, while Dr. Beke made it 760 feet; and he performed the high service to agriculture, and to general philanthropy, of bringing to Europe from Shoa several kinds of grain seeds, which may possibly become additions to the cereals cultivated in our fields. The results of his first and second expeditions were published in works entitled “*Voyages dans le Royaume de Shoa.*”

Dr. Beke landed at Tajurra in November 1840,—went into Shoa in the following February, and remained there

CHAP. XX. till October,—went westward thence into Gojam, and remained there about sixteen months,—and then returned by the way of Begemider, Lasta and Tigré to Massowa, where he arrived in May 1843. He did not go over so much ground as some of the previous travellers; but he made a greatly better use of his time and opportunities; and partly through means of searching inquiry among the natives, partly through astute inferences from his own observations, partly by keen, critical, far-sighted examination of the reports of all other European travellers, he is now our best informant, not only on the districts which came actually under his eye, but on districts far beyond them, almost to the limits of all the eastern portion of the upper basin of the Nile. His voluminous papers in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, are highly instructive; and his separate work, recently published, throws a broad stream of new and lustrous light on Abyssinia.

Dr. Beke's
skill and
enterprise.

Dr. Beke's
discoveries.

Dr. Beke made extraordinary and very successful efforts to construct a good map of a great extent of country. He enjoyed very slender public assistance, and was ill furnished with suitable instruments and other appliances, and yet he triumphed over every difficulty, and attained his objects with brilliant celerity. He carried a series of thermometric levels across nearly seven degrees of longitude, from Tajurra to Bauja. He was the first discoverer of the depression of the salt Lake Assal below sea-level, and roughly estimated it at 760 feet. He fixed, by astronomical observations, the latitude of upwards of seventy stations. He visited and mapped the rim of the Nile's tableau along the watershed with the head-streams of the Hawash, over a distance of nearly fifty miles. He obtained information of the existence of the River Gódjeb,—which afterwards gave rise to so much controversy, and is identified by the partizans of D'Abaddie with the parent White Nile; and he assumed the source of that stream to be exactly in the place where D'Abaddie afterwards found it. He

was the first person who ascertained the Dedhesa to be the parent stream of the Blue Nile, and the first person also who approximately mapped it. He visited the source of the Abaï; and though preceded thither by two other European travellers, Mr. Arnault and Mr. Bell, he was the first after Bruce who described it; and he thermometrically estimated its elevation at 8,975 feet. He approximately ascertained the upper course of the Abaï by reaching it at various points around Gojam and Damet; and he discovered a second bridge over it, described by no previous traveller. During a long stay in the neighbourhood of Baso, in the hope of becoming able to penetrate thence to the south, he collected information respecting the region south of the Abaï, whence he constructed a rough map, comprising nearly seventy thousand square miles of country. And in his way from Gojam to Massowa, he travelled by routes which had never before been trod by an European, and was enabled to make important corrections on previous maps.

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The upper
course of the
Abaï.

Captain Harris, now Sir W. C. Harris, arrived in Shoa, in July 1841, and remained there till February 1843. His visit was political, and arose out of proposals of friendship made by the king of Shoa to the Government of India. He enjoyed high advantages of observation, and turned them to good account; and afterwards gave the fruits of them to the world in his well-known work, entitled "The Highlands of Ethiopia." He made no such additions to our geographical knowledge as those of D'Abaddie, Beke, and some other previous travellers; but he contributed rich information in the departments of manners, customs, religion, and statistics. His work, however, is written in a style of orientalism, which throws a false glare over dull scenes and dreary subjects.

Sir W. C.
Harris.

Numerous as are the recent travellers we have named, they by no means comprise the whole list. We might have noticed also Messrs. Ferret and Galinier, two offi-

CHAP. XX. cers of engineers, who were employed by the French government to survey all Northern Abyssinia, from Hamazen to Gondar; the priests of the Roman Catholic mission, who went into Abyssinia to attempt to negotiate it into union with the See of Rome; M. Linant, who, in 1827, ascended the White Nile as far as Al-leis; M. Holroyd, who, in 1837, visited the capital of Kordofan, and travelled thence through the desert of Sakrah to the White Nile; M. Blondeel von Koelmbroeck, the Belgian Consul-general in Egypt, who traversed Abyssinia and Sennaar, from 1839 to 1842, in search of markets for the manufactures of Belgium; Mr. Bell, a young officer of the Indian navy, who almost fell a victim to exploration, and was for a long time believed to have died from excessive maltreatment near Lake Fzana, but nevertheless rallied, and started on a second exploratory enterprise, in 1843; M. Even, a Frenchman, who went through Lasta into Shoa, in 1841, and was robbed in his way by the Prince of Waag; Mr. Inglish, who specially compared the volumes of the Blue Nile and the White Nile, and showed the latter to be the larger; M. Russegger, who made a searching and astute examination of the river-system of the Blue Nile, and gave the results in a German work of "Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa;" Mr. Charles Johnston, who went up to Shoa in 1841, returned thence in company with the mission of Sir W. C. Harris, and afterwards published two volumes of "Travels in Southern Abyssinia;" M. Lafargue, who ascended the valley of the White Nile to a great height, in 1845; M. Castelli, who, in the same year, in company with a body of Egyptian troops, penetrated a good way up the river-system of the Godjeb; the Church Missionaries on the east coast of Africa, who settled there some time after their exclusion from Shoa, and who have recently made astounding conjectural additions to the geography of the Nile's basin, by approaching its south-eastern buttress from without; several parties, connected in some way or other with the Egyptian explo-

Other
travellers in
Abyssinia.

The Church
Missionaries
in the east of
Africa.

ration of the Upper Nile, who have given their sentiments separately to the world,—particularly M. Werne, who has given interesting details of the scenery and botany of the White Nile, and of the character and customs of its inhabitants, up to the head of navigation; and M. Jomard, who, in a pamphlet, entitled “*Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour*,” makes a kind of mental exploration of the unknown region of Central Africa, visited by Browne in 1794, and arrives at a firm opinion, that one of the sources of the White Nile exists far west in Darfour, and others in the south-west.

An exploring river expedition was got up, in 1839, by the Pasha of Egypt. It consisted of three or four sailing barques and some small boats, and was commanded by Selim Bimbashi, of the Alexandrian navy, and managed by a body of intelligent officers, and accompanied by 100 men from the garrison of Sennaar. It started from Khartum in December, and was actively employed during seventy-two days. It did its work well. Every day's proceedings were carefully noted; the names of the tribes along the banks were ascertained; and the breadth of the stream, the depth of the soundings, the velocity of the current, the states of the temperature, and the appearance of the country, were recorded. The exploration of the main stream to the utmost attainable point, was steadily kept in view. Only one affluent, and that a very large stream, was ascended to any considerable distance. Few other affluents were attended to; and probably some large ones, possibly some one of size enough to dispute the honour of being the parent river, escaped notice. The men scarcely ever went ashore,—and when they did go, they went but a short distance; and the banks on both sides, down into the very water, are extensively sheeted with tall and rank vegetation, and even with shrubs and trees; so that, in large flat alluvial expanses, some great affluents may readily have stolen in unobserved. The valley, even up to the furthest point reached, was found to be

The first
Egyptian
expedition
up the
White Nile.

Comparative
exploration
of the main
stream and
the affluents.

CHAP. XX. of surprising breadth. None of the mountain ranges which flank it were in sight. Not many hills, and only unimportant, disjointed, and not very high ones, were seen. Numerous ponds and lakes were found on both banks,—the remains no doubt of the inundations of the river during the rainy season. The expedition turned at a point in about north latitude $6^{\circ} 30'$. A very ample account of it was published, first in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* of Paris, and next in a work entitled “*Prémier Voyage à la recherche des Sources du Bahr-el-Abiad ou Nil Blanc.*”

The second
Egyptian
expedition.

Another Egyptian expedition was got up in 1840, and had the advantage of being accompanied by two intelligent Europeans, Messrs. D'Arnaud and Sabatier. It left Khartum in November 1840, returned thither after a time, and set out thence again in September 1841. It had much more success, and penetrated to a much further extent than the preceding expedition. M. D'Arnaud, too, constructed a map, which gave precision and distinctness to the information it obtained. The direction of ascent from Khartum to about the 14th parallel of north latitude, was found to be about west-southwest,—from that point to about the 11th parallel, nearly due south,—and from the latter point to about $9^{\circ} 10'$, generally southwest. A delta of about a hundred miles each way flanks the right bank between the 11th and the 9th parallels, and brings in the Sobat, or terminating system of the Gódjeb; and this was ascended upwards of eighty miles in an east-southwest direction, and ascertained to have nearly as much volume of water as the parent stream. At about $9^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, the ascent turned off due west; and in about 29° east longitude a lake was reached, measuring from fifteen to twenty miles each way, abounding in fish, studded with islands, and profusely fringed with sedges and shallows. M. Werne says that the name of it could not be ascertained; but M. Lafargue, in 1845, ascertained it to be called No,—a name which singularly accords with some

Mouths and
streams of
the Sobat.

ancient designations in connection with the Nile; and Dr. Beke asserts it to be evidently the Kura of the Arabian geographers, and the Cuir or Cura of our maps. The lake occurs at the confluence of two large streams. One of these comes from the west or northwest, and was supposed by M. D'Arnaud to be the Keilah or Misselad of Browne; and the other comes from the south, and was regarded as the main stream of the Nile. The direction from this point to the furthest one reached, is generally about southeast. For a considerable way above the lake, the river is called by the natives Kiti or Kirti; but in the country of Behr or Bari, higher up, it is called Tubiri. All the portion explored above the point reached by the former expedition, continued to wind among marshes and swamps, and to be free from rapids or cataracts, though occasionally beset with shallows. For a long distance, also, the breadth and expansiveness of the valley continued to be similar; but at about the 5th parallel of north latitude, it begins to be confined between mountains, and to assume the same kind of alpine character as the great valleys of Abyssinia. At about the same point also the river begins to lose its sluggishness; and soon after, it accelerates into a prevailing velocity of about two miles an hour.

The upper explored reaches of the White Nile.

The expedition was stopped in $4^{\circ} 42' 42''$ north latitude, and $31^{\circ} 38'$ east longitude, by a ridge of gneiss, extending directly across the stream. But an opinion was formed, that, in the flooded season, the river may probably be navigable to about the 3d parallel of north latitude. Several tribes were met, who differ widely from one another, and from all the known tribes of the circumjacent regions. Some were believed to be quiet and peaceful; and one very far up possessed various articles of Indian merchandise. The king of Behr lives entirely insulated on the waters, in a residence which can be approached only by swimming. His guards are two battalions of women, armed with spears; and his ministers never enter his residence, except when he is sup-

The tribes on the upper explored reaches.

CHAP. XX. posed to be dangerously ill; and then they perform the extraordinary *duty* of strangling him, in order to prevent the *disgrace* of his dying a natural death! M. D'Arnaud made valuable collections; but, being wrecked in the river, he lost everything except his journal, and escaped with life only by swimming for upwards of two hours. The results of the expedition were published by M. D'Arnaud in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* of Paris, and by M. Werne in the *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*.

The third
Egyptian
expedition.

A third Egyptian expedition was undertaken; but it did not ascend so far as the second, and became comparatively worthless. A doubt exists whether the second itself was not vitiated by deflexion from the main stream. The rule of preferring the larger body of water at a bifurcation, may more than once have been unintentionally violated; for at a confluence of rivers, the one which looks to be the smaller is sometimes really and even greatly the larger. And the rule of rather going straight on than making a deflexion, may lead to error in any part of the world, but in none more than in the basin of the Upper Nile; for there such great affluents as have been well explored are singularly characterised by serpentine sinuosity of course, winding and doubling and returning upon themselves in comprehensive sweeps and mazy folds. But even assuming the stream of the second Egyptian expedition to be the veritable White Nile, Dr. Beke argues that its upper reaches must descend from regions on the south side of the equator. His argument is quite as likely to turn out coincident with fact as not; and even though it should prove mistaken, it is abundantly interesting enough to challenge perusal. Here it is:—

Dr. Beke's
argument
respecting
the source of
the White
Nile.

“Respecting the river further up, the particulars furnished by M. D'Arnaud and M. Werne, from native information, differ materially. The former says, ‘When the waters are high, the river is still navigable for at least some thirty leagues,’ to a point where ‘several

branches unite, of which *the most considerable one comes from the east*, and passes below a large country named Berry, situate a fortnight's journey to the east of the mountains of Bellénia; which mountains are shown in that traveller's map as lying at a distance of twenty or thirty miles to the east of the extreme point of the expedition. This branch of the Nile is, in the same map, named *Shoabérri* (Choa-Berry); and the Godjeb is laid down as tributary to it. On the other hand, M. Werne informs us, that, *in the country of Berri*, which lies ten days to the east of Bari, '*there is no river, but the people obtain their water from wells.*' And he adds, that they were informed by Lakono, the reigning matta (king) of Bari, that the river continues '*a month's journey further south* before reaching the country of Auyán (Aujan), where it divides into four shallow brooks; but whether these come from the mountains, or out of the earth, he was unable to say.' Notwithstanding the apparent discrepancy of these two relations, the accuracy of *both* may, subject to certain qualifications, be admitted, if we suppose that, in the case of M. D'Arnaud, that traveller was induced to consider the Shoabérri to be the *principal* arm by the particulars furnished to him in Egypt by Messrs. Blondeel and Bell respecting the Gódjeb, which river was described to them by their native informants as being the main stream of the Bahr-el-Abyad. This information must, however, be viewed in the same light as various other native reports, which are founded on the belief of the people inhabiting the banks of each successive branch of the Nile, that *their* river is the continuation of the principal stream. By this observation, it is not intended to express any doubt respecting the existence of a large eastern arm of the Bahr-el-Abyad, above the furthest point reached by the expedition. The particulars subsequently furnished by M. D'Arnaud to M. Jomard—namely, that '*almost all the natives concur in stating that the river continues in a south-east direc-*

The upper
branches of
the White
Nile.

Opinions of
the natives
respecting
the several
branches.

CHAP. XX.

The Shoa-
bérri a dis-
tinct and
great branch

tion for 50 or 100 miles, but afterwards turns to the east and northeast,' do not allow this fact to be questioned. All that is contended for is, that the river thus described is neither the Gódjeb nor, in its upper portion at least, the direct stream of the Nile. As respects the former of these points, the real course of the Gódjeb is, it is apprehended, sufficiently established by what we have written; and as to the latter, its correctness must be admitted, unless we altogether discard M. Werne's information, which we certainly are not justified in doing. And, indeed, M. D'Arnaud himself was informed of a river which comes from the *south*, by the people of Comboh, a place distant a day and a half's journey beyond the furthest point reached by the expedition.

The course of
the Shoa-
bérri.

"It appears, therefore, to result that the Shoabérri of M. D'Arnaud's map, is *another* great arm of the Nile, having its course below and round, consequently *beyond*, the country of Berri, but not *in* it, since M. Werne expressly tells us the people of that country obtain their water from wells, and not from a river. The distance at which it makes this circuit round Berri, namely, fifteen days journey, may be estimated at from 180 to 200 miles to the east; so that the course of the river will be carried to about the thirty-fifth meridian east of Greenwich, and its source may be conjecturally placed somewhere between the fourth and fifth parallels of north latitude. Thus the Shoabérri will be seen to form a curve similar to that of the Abaï and of the Gódjeb; while towards the Nile its lower course will have precisely the same bearing as those two rivers and the Ták-kazie, namely, from south-east to north-west. Indeed, from the general fall of the western slope of the mountain-chain of Eastern Africa, towards the valley of the Nile, this last condition is indispensable; for it may be regarded as physically impossible, that any river joining the main stream on its right bank, should have a course of 350 miles from north-east to south-west, as the Shoa-

bérri is made to have in M. D'Arnaud's map, evidently from a desire to connect it with the Gódjeb. CHAP. XX.

"As regards the direct stream of the Nile above the confluence of the Shoabérri—assuming the Tubiri to be that direct stream—our guide must be M. Werne, on whose authority, or rather on that of his informant Lakono, we have to carry it a month's journey further to the south. If, now, the day's journey be roughly estimated at twelve geographical miles, this gives 360 geographical miles as the length of the river above $4^{\circ} 42' 42''$ N. lat.; and this distance, measured in a direction due south, brings us to about $1^{\circ} 20'$ S. lat., and $31^{\circ} 40'$ E. long. Here, in the country of Auyán, the river is said to divide into four shallow brooks, and beyond this point our information, imperfect as it is, ceases altogether.

The direct stream of the Upper White Nile.

"Let us now see into what portion of Africa the head of the Nile has thus been brought. In Mr. Cooley's valuable memoir on 'The Geography of N'yassi, or the Great Lake of Southern Africa'—the Lake Zambéze of the Portuguese—published in the fifteenth volume of the 'Royal Geographical Society's Journal,' public attention is again directed to the country of *Móno-Moézi*, which, as early as the end of the sixteenth century, was described by the Portuguese as an important empire in the interior of Africa. Since that period, however, as Mr. Cooley observes, 'our acquaintance with it has not only not gone on increasing, but the very name has sunk into obscurity. . . . The information which we at present possess respecting it is of but a vague and general character. The country seems to be an elevated plain, the ascent to which lies chiefly in the territories of the M'sagára and of the Wohaha;' similar, in its general character, to the ascent from the low country of the Adál, or Danakil, to the Abyssinian plateau, of which this 'elevated plain' is manifestly a continuation.

The Móno-Moézi country.

"The country of Móno-Moézi appears to lie to the north and north-east of Lake Zambéze; and, from a con-

CHAP. XX.

The position
of the Lake
Zambéze.

Supposed
origin of the
White Nile
in the Lake
Zambéze.

sideration of the positions of the adjoining districts, Mr. Cooley concludes that its northern limit may be 'rudely fixed in the third or fourth parallel of south latitude;' and in the map accompanying his memoir it is laid down as extending from the 30th to the 35th meridian of east longitude. But, in his 'Further Explanations in reference to the Geography of N'yassi,' contained in the succeeding part of the journal, that gentleman, at the same time that he shows, from information subsequently obtained, the general correctness of his previous results, admits that he has 'fallen short of the truth of about 150 miles' with regard to the position of certain points on which those of the central portion of his map mainly depend, the deficiency in distance being on a line bearing about north-west. This variation necessarily affects, though perhaps not to the whole extent, the position previously attributed to the N'yassi, or Lake Zambéze, and consequently that of the country of Mónico-Moézi also; and hence the approximate northern limit of that country has probably to be advanced to within two degrees south of the equator, while it may at the same time be necessary to move it westwards to within the 29th and 34th meridians of east longitude. Now, this brings us precisely to the spot to which, on the authority of M. Werne, we have already carried the head of the Nile; so that it results that this river has its origin in the country of Mónico-Moézi. . . . And such being the case, there is nothing unreasonable in the opinion maintained by the early Portuguese, that that river issues from Lake Zambéze, situate in that country. Indeed, that such is actually the case, is repeated at the present day by a native of Zanzibar, but born of Mónico-Moézi parents—one of 'the *Manmoise* tribe,' as he is styled by Mr. M'Queen, who communicated the information. This individual, Lief ben Saied by name, states that it is well known by all the people there that *the river which goes through Egypt takes its source and origin from the lake, named Zambéze or N'yassi.*"

A conjecture has recently arisen, that the alpine basin of the head-streams of the White Nile, not only extends fully as far south as Dr. Beke supposes, but is of great breadth, and projects its eastern buttress to within three hundred miles of the Indian Ocean. Mr. Rebmann, one of the members of the East African Church mission, lately made a journey westward from Mombas, meeting with little or no opposition from the natives ; and, after ten or twelve days' distance from the coast, he arrived at a range of alpine heights, one of which, called Killimandjaaro, or Mountain of Greatness, was covered with perpetual snow. "Mr. Rebmann," remarked the President of the Royal Geographical Society, in his address at the Anniversary Meeting of that Society in 1850, "does not state how far the summit of this mountain rises above the limits of perpetual congelation ; but he clearly intimates that a considerable portion of its height is covered with eternal snow. In that latitude the line of constant low temperature may be estimated at about 17,000 feet, so that the supposed height of the culminating point, 20,000 feet, may be for the present reasonably assumed. This circumstance really gives a shade of probability to the hypothesis, which suggests a mountainous chain of 300 miles from and parallel to the eastern coast ; and from which the upper affluents of the Nile would issue. But even if this assumption were proved as a fact, it would not at all prevent the existence of other distant affluents in the southwest and south." And in another part of the same address, the President says, "Baron von Müller has communicated to us his intention to carry an expedition up the White Nile, with the view of determining its source, and forming a settlement on its banks. In the event of his efforts proving so far successful, the Baron has determined to quit the Nile and to proceed westwards, endeavouring to reach the coast. This, if it is of possible accomplishment, will be a splendid triumph, for independent of the chorography of the several districts, re-

CHAP. XX.]

The Mountains of Greatness.

Baron von Müller's expedition.

CHAP. XX. ports—but certainly vague ones—from that part of the
— interior indicate an unexpected degree of civilization ;
Civilization in the remote for we are even told of there being schools of instruction,
uplands. where their written characters are peculiar, and perhaps
more ancient than even those of the Arabs.”

CHAPTER XXI.

Recent Discoveries in the East and South.

Condition of the East—Discovery of the Haines River—Exploration of the Jubb—Discoveries west of Mombas—Progress in the South—Adventures of the Modern Nimrod—The Country of Bamangwato—The Valley of the Limpopo—Discovery of Lake Ngami—Supposed Central Plateau—Explorations northward of Lake Ngami—Livingston's journeys through the centre of Southern Africa.

ALL the vast region between Abyssinia and the equator, though possessing an enormous sweep of coast along the Indian Ocean, and in the near vicinity of our Eastern territories, continued till a few years ago to be almost entirely a *terra incognita*. It was believed to be the ancient Regio Cinnamonifera, to have undergone great revolutions, to be now possessed by numerous independent tribes or small nations of Gallas and Soumalis, and to teem with aromatics, spices, myrrh, aloes, ivory, ostrich feathers, indigo, cotton, and other valuable articles of commerce ; yet still it was not explored. Many a mishap upon its coast had given it a truculent name. Atrocities perpetrated upon parties of European seamen going a-shore on it for water, even so recently as the period of the expedition to the Red Sea, had proclaimed it to be pre-eminently savage. Few persons were so hot with bravery or so fired with adventure as to have any wish for rambling into its interior. Its inhabitants, at different points along the coast, too, had surprisingly little knowledge of one another, and could give almost no information about their country. To go even a very

CHAP. XXI.

Recent ignorance of the East coast.

Recent condition of that coast.

CHAP. XXI. short distance into any part of this great region, therefore, was in many respects as interesting an exploration as to make a laborious and perilous journey into the very centre of Nigritia.

Christopher's
discovery of
the Hames
River.

In the spring of 1843, Lieutenant Christopher, in command of the Honourable East India Company's war-brig *Tigris*, made two or three short descents upon parts of it a little north of the equator, and discovered there a large, beautiful, and curious river. This comes down in great volume, seemingly from the south-eastern buttress of Abyssinia, approaches within four or five miles of the sea in lat. $1^{\circ} 40'$ N., and long. $44^{\circ} 33'$ E., runs thence about fifty miles parallel with the coast, diverges then a little inland, and finally empties itself, at about seventy miles north of the equator, and about thirty from the sea, into a great lake which has not any known outlet. A range of sand hills, from about 150 to about 200 feet high, extends between its lower reaches and the coast, at a distance of about two miles from the sea. A large portion of the river's water infiltrates through this long and curious isthmus into the sea, and everywhere either oozes out at the surface or is easily reached in copious wells by digging. The coast, as seen from the sea, has a barren aspect; but all the inland country, as seen from the summit of the sand hill range, appears carpeted and tufted with luxuriant vegetation.

Visit to Brava.

Lieutenant Christopher sailed northward from Zanzibar, and landed at a series of places along the coast. He got a general hint of the existence of the river from a native of Zanzibar, but did not obtain any intelligence of it which could guide him till he landed at Brava. This place is situated in north latitude $1^{\circ} 5' 17''$, and is the seat of a Soumali chief or sheikh. Lieutenant Christopher was cordially received by the chief, and favoured with his company to the river, and found him to be a harmless, hearty, very amusing boaster. A picnic refreshment was eaten by the way, in a style of

extraordinary medium between the Turkish and the CHAP. XXI.
 savage. "The meat, after the Abyssinian fashion, was
 crammed into the mouth, and then a knife passed
 through it close to the nose and lips, no man taking
 time to consider how much his mouth would hold, but
 incessantly putting it to the proof." Slaves were seen
 at work on the fields; but they had no other implement
 than a common short hoe; and they appeared to be
 singularly docile and abject. An elbow of the river
 was reached about eight miles due north of Bravah. The country
 and river
 north of
 Bravah.
 The stream there was from 70 to 150 feet broad, and
 from ten to fifteen feet deep, with a velocity of about
 one and a half mile an hour, and was haunted by
 numerous alligators. The banks to the breadth of a
 mile or more, were swamps; and all the country in-
 land, as far as the eye could discern, was level, and
 spotted with trees.

Lieutenant Christopher next landed about fifty miles
 farther north, opposite the place where he was told the
 river makes its nearest approach to the sea, and where
 it is overlooked by a town of the name of Galwen. But The town and
 people of
 Galwen.
 he got sure intelligence that the people of that place
 were as wild as lions at the thought of white strangers;
 and he did not think it prudent to beard them in their
 den. A few of them were met on the shore; and some
 of these had never before seen a white man, and looked
 on him and his party with astonishment and fear. He
 saw there the ruins of an Arab settlement which had
 once been of considerable extent, but whose inhabitants
 had suffered so much from the petty wars of rival
 Soumali chiefs, that they abandoned it and retired to
 Bravah.

He next landed at Merkah, about fifteen miles farther The town of
 Merkah.
 north. This is a stone-built town, evidently of Arab
 origin, but now inhabited by about three thousand of a
 mongrel population, principally Soumali, and under the
 dominion of a chief who calls himself a sultan. Both
 chief and people received the stranger well, and had no

CHAP. XXI. other feeling about his going inland than fear for his safety. He went direct across the isthmus, and found the river to be there about ten miles distant. The country passed through seemed exceedingly fertile, and exhibited some evidence of industry. In one part, many thousands were employed in cultivation, and their only homes throughout the year were conical huts, constructed with the loose straw of the common millet, and quite pervious to the rain. But on the banks of the river stood a village of about a hundred huts, of a much better description, environed with a strong palisade and a close hedge of cactus ; and its inhabitants received the exploring party with a curious mixture of ceremony and merriment and hospitality. The stream there was about 150 feet broad and 17 feet deep, with a current of two or three miles an hour. Cocoa-nut trees were in full bearing on its banks, and palms and fig-trees swarmed with birds of the most brilliant plumage. When the exploring party approached Merkah on their return, the whole population were out to welcome them ; the women and children on the tops of the houses, and the men in a dense body along the road. All had been in a stew of terror during the day lest the slaves or outlaws in the interior should intercept the explorers, and they themselves be called to account for it by the gun-brig.

The country
inward
from Mer-
kah.

The town of
Makadisho.

Lieutenant Christopher landed next at Makadisho or Makdeesha. This place is situated about forty-five miles north-east of Merkah, and is noticed on page 340 of the present volume. It was now found to be half in ruins, and inhabited by about thirty families of Arab origin and between 3000 and 4000 Soumalis. The sovereign of it was sheikh also of a territory comprising about 150,000 persons, but had his seat at Giredi, on the banks of the river about twenty-six miles inland. The people of Makadisho had a record of three white men having landed at their town ; but all said that the shiekh and the people of the interior had never seen

one. A native was despatched to Giredi with a message CHAP. XXL
 asking permission to a party from the ship to land, and
 came back with a permission in writing and an escort
 of ten spearmen. Lieutenant Christopher proceeded
 with these, and seventeen musketeers of his own, and
 nearly thirty other persons to Giredi ; and on entering
 the town, his musketeers fired a salute of three volleys The town and
and state of
Giredi.
 in presence of about seven thousand spectators. The
 sheikh was an open-faced, intelligent-looking man, in
 middle life, plainly enveloped from head to foot in a
 large white sheet ; and he received the strangers with
 all honour and hospitality ; and readily gave them a
 written paper sanctioning traffic and trade by English-
 men in any part of his dominions. He could levy an
 army of at least twenty thousand spearmen, and was
 about to set out on a warlike expedition against the
 neighbouring state of Barderh. The cause of hostilities
 was Moslem wrath against the “ Kafir ” practices of
 smoking tobacco and allowing women to move about
 with uncovered faces and arms ; and this had already,
 in the course of a five years’ war, occasioned the loss of
 at least ten thousand men.

The river at Giredi was much larger than lower down,
 and gorgeously beautiful. Both banks, for some dis-
 tance, were cleared and cultivated ; and all parts which
 escaped the dominion of the hoe were sparkling with
 flowers, or magnificently tufted with shrubs and trees.
 Lieutenant Christopher, in company with the shiekh’s
 brother, travelled up the banks for ten miles, and was
 everywhere delighted both with the opulence of the The river’s
banks above
Giredi.
 soil and the good humour of the people. The land
 teemed with many kinds of esculents and luxuries, and
 seemed capable of producing large crops of anything
 which will grow within the tropics. The natives turned
 out from the villages in wondering crowds, and vied
 with one another in hearty, officious, but not obtrusive
 display of kind feeling. Such real politeness as Lieu-
 tenant Christopher and his party experienced among

CHAP. XXI. them—such absence of brutality, such freedom from rudeness, such anxiety to give pleasure—are not always shown to odd-looking strangers by the peasantry or towns-people of our own land. The reputed ruffians of Eastern Africa proved to have better conduct than not a few of the street gentlemen of Britain; and at the same time, in the important article of costume, they are in some sense their rivals! “Some young fops among them,” says the Lieutenant, “dress their hair most tastefully, or at least elaborately, approving very much of our naval cocked-hat form; or sometimes bag-wigs and mops in turn receive the same approving imitation. None but the interweaving curled hair of the negro could maintain the form into which they arrange their heads of hair. The neck-support, which is universally carried by the men when absent a few hours from their houses, supports the head comfortably five or six inches off the ground when repose is desired.”

Conduct and
costume of
the Giredi
people.

The villages occurred at short intervals, and were usually situated about a mile or so from the river, amid clumps or groves of lime-trees and fig-trees. Many rich and rare articles of suitable exchange for European merchandise abounded. The whole country continued flat, and spread away to the horizon like a garden. The river above Giredi descends nearly from due north. Lieutenant Christopher did not find it to be known by any general name, and called it the Haines River, in honour of Captain Haines.

General descriptive geography has always said that no stream of any note occurs on the east coast of Africa, from a good way south of the equator on to the isthmus of Suez. But the mouth of a large river in the immediate vicinity of the equator, began to be obscurely known some years ago, and was recently explored. This river is the Jubb or Juba. It has great volume even in the dry season, and may prove to possess considerable commercial value, and has been thought by some high geographical authorities, though clearly without good

The river
Jubb.

reason, to be identical with some of the streams which rise near the furthest source of the Blue Nile—in fact, to be the Godjeb. CHAP. XXI.

The Jubb was first explored in January 1844, by Henry C. Arc Angelo. The coast all around it has a most sterile appearance, and exhibits very small landmarks. The mouth of the river lies thirteen miles south of the equator, but is not easily found. The entrance is very narrow; but the reach immediately within has a breadth of about a quarter of a mile, and a depth of from two and a half to four and three quarters fathoms. About three miles up, stands the town of Juba, on a high and steep hill. It is walled, and has about two hundred stone or coral houses, and two or three mosques. The country hitherto and all around, as well near the river as at a distance, is a sterile dreary expanse of sandy flats, variegated with sand hills, and relieved only along the edges of the water by masses of wood and vestiges of inundation.

The mouth
and lower
reaches of
the Jubb.

Mr. Angelo's narrative is almost as dull as this seaboard portion of the landscape, containing scarcely an incident of any kind, and not one dash of adventure. Still the region which it depicts was entirely new, and revealed incomparably more interesting features than the central and northern deserts, whose exploration has furnished so many a page of tragedy and awful romance. For sixty miles up, except in the vicinity of the stream, the country had a parched appearance, and an abrupt low hilly contour, and was occasionally marked with columns of smoke rising from villages of outlaws or runaway slaves. After 125 miles up, it became generally flat and open, with a rather fertile aspect, and was screened in the distance by seemingly well-wooded hills. At 150 miles, the river continued pretty broad and deep, the banks were luxuriant, and the animated creation made stirring displays of hippopotami, ducks, guinea-fowls, and antelopes. Fifteen miles farther up, occurred some luscious tracts—spots and patches of paradise amid

The inland
basin of the
Jubb.

CHAP. XXI. comparative desert ; and higher still, were good lands, — appearances of cultivation, stretches of pasture, indications of herds, and a pleasant peopled range of hills. "About 220 or 240 miles up," says Mr. Angelo, "I saw the remains of three or four huts : near these huts I saw a body of people coming down a hill with cattle : I did not think it safe to go to them. Sometimes in the day the current would be so strong, that it was impossible to get 300 yards in four hours. I imagine a small steamer would do. Some considerable distance up, there are several falls, one of which was said to be a very high one."

The inhabitants of the Jubb's valley.

Three races of people inhabited the flanks of the Jubb, and were very often embroiled in petty war. The Gallas had main possession of the interior, and were chief masters of its produce, but felt perfect readiness to take portions of this down for barter on the coast. The Misagoras were a community of self-liberated slaves, about 1500 strong, inhabiting a group of villages on the river, having a sort of king of their own, and acting generally in alliance with the Gallas. The Soumalis lived nearest the coast, and maintained a constant fitful alternation of trade and war with the Gallas—sometimes almost starved to death by a prolonged interception of supplies from the interior—and never an hour scarcely at peace, insomuch that whenever they travelled at all, they travelled in parties, and fully armed. Yet their feuds with their neighbours were simply matters of intense mutual spite and hatred, and did not involve any ill-will to strangers ; for a hot one was going on at the very time of Mr. Angelo's visit, and does not seem to have materially embarrassed his movements.

The reservoir of the Haines river.

The large lake at the termination of the Haines river, commences only about ninety miles from the Jubb, and might almost be expected to communicate with that stream. Mr. Krapf, the Church missionary, visited the seaward side of it in 1843, and found it to extend nearer the sea than the discoverers of it supposed. Lieutenant

Christopher got information from natives who spoke on personal observation, that the Jubb is comparatively shallow in February and March, but becomes very deep when the rains commence, or toward July; and he expresses a confident belief that it is open to British enterprise.

The Church missionaries of the East African mission have evinced the same zeal to explore the countries between the Jubb and Zanzibar, and backward thence into the interior, which they and their brethren previously evinced to explore Abyssinia: and at one time, Mr. Krapf was so long absent on an adventurous excursion, that very serious apprehensions began to be entertained about his safety. But the only things of high interest which they have hitherto discovered, are the snow-capped Alpine peaks already alluded to in the chapter on the Basin of the Nile, and a beautiful country situated north of a range of uplands called the Taita mountains. Another zealous explorer in the same region, M. Maizan, an officer of the French navy, set out about six years ago to penetrate direct into the *terra incognita* westward of Zanzibar, and made considerable progress, but was murdered by the natives.

The south of Africa, both within and beyond the regions formerly known, has recently made disclosures of its geography to the full as interesting as those of the east. Adventure in it has ever been abundant. Two other Caffre wars, quite as eventful as that recorded in a former chapter, the latter of them peculiarly stubborn and just ended, subjected a large portion of it to violent commotion and momentous change. The whole life of many of the civilized inhabitants, to say nothing of the savage ones, continues to be a continual excitement. Excursions of curiosity, and peril, and philanthropy, through wilds and recesses, have been increasingly numerous, and often very romantic. An exploratory journey was performed, a few years ago, by M. Adolphe Delagorgue of Douay, from Port Natal to the tropic of Capricorn;

CHAP. XXI.

Explorations by the Church Missionaries.

The stirring condition of Southern Africa.

CHAP. XXI. and some others of not greatly inferior consequence, have been done in other quarters. Many of the missionary tours from the multitude of missionary stations along the borders of civilization, and within the territories of the savages, have almost equalled some of the explorations through the Sahara into Nigritia, in both daring and incident. The published journeyings of Robert Moffat, in particular, read like a romance, and, at the same time, emit the radiance, and wield the electricity, of Christian truth. Whoever wishes to see African adventure in the dress of an apostle, should read Robert Moffat.

Moffat's
journeyings.

Cumming's
huntings.

But the grand recent adventurer in South Africa is Roualeyn Gordon Cumming, Esq. of Altyre. That gentleman was a great hunter and a passionate admirer of wild scenery from his youth. He indulged his moods for a time in the Scottish Highlands, but soon found these too tame for him ; and he then tried one distant country after another, till at last he plunged headlong into the unexplored regions of Southern Africa. There, in 1843 and the four following years, he got such *sport* as never before was *enjoyed* by man. The whole country figures in his narrative like an immense zoological garden, with all the dens broken up and all the menagerie set free. Springboks, gemsboks, blesboks, wildebeests, oryxes, gnoos, buffaloes, antelopes, giraffes, leopards, rhinoceroses, lions, and elephants, to say nothing of smaller or gentler creatures, were almost as common on the wilds, as cattle are on a pasture ; boa-constrictors, ostriches, and flying birds of many a feather, gave variety to the scene ; and sea-cows of enormous size, together with alligators and crocodiles, haunted the waters. Mr. Cumming ran riot among them all, to the full as freely as they ran riot among one another. He gave chase to everything which could rouse his blood or put him in peril. He fought many a duel with the biggest monsters of the forest. He became as familiar with lions as ordinary British sportsmen are with moor-

fowl; and often ran after elephants as dauntlessly as CHAP. XXI. ploughboys run after hares; and generally "bagged" the terrific gigantic "game" quite as numerously and readily as if they had been partridges or trout. His Cumming's perils. perils, of course, were constant and awful; many of his escapes were hair-breadth and wonderful; and while all prove him to be one of the bravest of mortals, and as mighty a hunter as Nimrod, some excite sickening horror, and provoke sharp questionings as to the moral character of such *sport*. If mere adventures be wanted, Cumming's "Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa," is certainly, take it all in all, the completest book of them which was ever written.

In discovery, too, Mr. Cumming accomplished something. He was the first to penetrate into the interior of the Bamangwato country; he travelled nearly 300 miles beyond Koulobeng, the most inland missionary station; and he made large examination of the great and beautiful valley of the Limpopo. Koulobeng is situated nearly 380 miles north of the Orange River, and about the same distance west-north-west of Delagoa Bay. It stands naked and deformed on one of the head-streams of the Limpopo, with the mission-house crowning a little rocky eminence. About 160 miles north-east of it, Mr. Cumming's party reached the Baman- The Baman-gwato Mountains. gwato Mountains. They had to cut much of their way through jungle and thickets; and then they entered a broad level strath, picturesquely studded with trees, and grandly overhung on both sides by steep, bold, rocky, mountainous acclivities. Piles of rock rose away to the clouds, so loose and dislocated that a small earthquake would have tossed them down in a torrent; ribbons and scarfs of brushwood and cacti adorned the smoother ascents; and some wild and bushy ravines clove the mountains into groups, and nestled far into their bosom.

Sicomy, the king of the great territory of Baman-gwato, was in daily apprehension of an attack from a

CHAP. XXI. powerful neighbouring tribe ; and, together with all his people, had fled for refuge to the caves and recesses of these mountains ; and three of his men went down to welcome and conduct the strangers. " They led us," says Mr. Cumming, " round the base of a bold projecting rock and then up a wild and well wooded rocky ravine, bearing no traces of men. On raising our eyes, however, we perceived the summits of the rocks covered with women and children ; and very soon detached parties of Sicomy's warriors came pouring in from different directions to gaze upon the white man, I being the first that many of them had seen. They were all armed and ready for action, each bearing an oval shield of ox, buffalo, or cameleopard's hide, a battle-axe, and three or four assagais. They wore karosses of jackal's and leopard's skins, which depended gracefully from their shoulders ; and many of them sported a round tuft of black ostrich feathers on their heads, while others had adorned their woolly hair with one or two wavy plumes of white ones. Both men and women wore abundance of the usual ornaments of beads and brass and copper wire." Sicomy himself was an astute savage, perfectly keen and ready for trade in defiance both of the alarms of war and of the entire novelty of a white man's visit ; and he drove some hard bargains with Mr. Cumming, giving him ivory in exchange for muskets. " The manner in which he obtained this ivory," we are told, " was by sending a party of his warriors to the Bushmen, who first obtained the tusks in barter for a few beads, and then compelled some of the poor Bakelahari, or wild natives of the desert, over whom Sicomy conceives he has a perfect right to tyrannize, to bear them on their shoulders across extensive deserts of burning sand to his head-quarters at Bamangwato. So great is the fatigue endured by the poor Bakelahari on these occasions, that many of them die from exhaustion before reaching Bamangwato."

The Limpopo probably rises 250 miles or so east of

King Sicomy's warriors.

King Sicomy's traffic.

Koulobeng; and after making a long westerly and north-CHAP. XXL
 erly sweep, it runs north-eastward, and was traced about
 180 miles in that direction by Mr. Cumming, and is sup-
 posed to debouch to the sea at or near Delagoa Bay. Its The river
 Limpopo and
 its valley.
 valley, so far as known, is everywhere magnificent. A
 range of mountains, very bold and rocky, with towering
 summits, and seemingly about one hundred miles long,
 extends across the upper part of its basin. Some of the
 lateral vales which open into the valley are romantic
 and luscious, and bring down gushing streams of limpid
 water. The embouch of one of these, about 110 miles
 north-east of Sicomy's Town, is pronounced by Mr.
 Cumming one of the loveliest spots he had seen in
 Southern Africa. Seleka's Town, the chief seat of a
 tribe, about seventy miles farther down, stands on the
 sides and top of a precipitous hill of bare quartz rocks,
 and commands a gorgeous view of the valley, spreading
 away in a sheet of forest to a back ground of moderately
 high mountains. A lateral vale farther on, and in-
 habited by another tribe, deflects far to the left, and
 dispreads into broad and beautiful cultivated grounds,
 overhung by woods, and terminating at the head in a
 bold ravine. And beyond the furthest point reached
 by Mr. Cumming, some copious streams are known to
 come into the Limpopo on the left, and a mass of
 mountains, bold in outline and sublime in height, soars
 upon the right, and no doubt commands brilliant
 and distant views of the onward course of the river. Extensive
 views of the
 Limpopo.
 "In company with Mr. Oswell," said a correspondent
 of the Athenæum in January 1850, "I followed the
 beautiful Limpopo to a considerable distance beyond the
 furthest point attained by any white man; and when
 we reluctantly quitted it, we could distinctly, from the
 summit of a neighbouring mountain called Linguapa,
 trace its course some thirty or forty miles to the north-
 east. The country was healthy, and highly favour-
 able for waggon travelling. Wood, water, and game
 abounded; and there was apparently no danger to be

CHAP. XXI. apprehended from the native tribes. What is to hinder us from following this interesting river to the sea ?”

Very soon after Mr. Cumming completed his exploits, a discovery was made worth millions of them, and a long way farther in the interior. The discoverer was Mr. Livingston, the missionary at Koulobeng, and the son-in-law of Robert Moffat ; and the thing discovered was the great lake Ngami,—a magnificent, inland, fresh water sea. This lake was known by hearsay to the earliest Portuguese settlers in South Africa, and found a place on their maps ; and was frequently mentioned, in recent years, by wandering natives to exploring missionaries and adventurous travellers. But a terrible desert barred it from the civilized world. No European had ever seen it or approached it ; and the tribes on the hither side of the desert reached it only with great difficulty, and under strong temptations of gain. Mr. Livingston, with high daring and the noblest motives, had long wished to penetrate to it, and waited only the means ; and at length, Mr. Oswell of the Madras Civil Service, and Mr. Murray of Lintrose in Scotland, with a nobleness equal to his own, both furnished the means and volunteered their company.

Expedition
to the lake.

The three travellers, with all due appointments of guides, waggons, and appurtenances, set out from Koulobeng on the 1st of June 1849. They soon entered the desert ; and though they found it only 300 miles or less in width, they did not reach its further side till the 4th of July. It is a dismal arid plain, yet is not destitute of trees or grass, or of brute and human inhabitants. Several remarkable species of succulent roots grow on it, and serve as a benign providential alleviation of the want of springs. One of these sends up a stem not thicker than a crow quill, and only about three or four inches high, yet lies about a foot below the surface, and is as large as a child's head, and consists of spongy cells full of pure cold water. The brutes of the desert, too, are said to be so constituted that they can

live and thrive for months without getting a drink ; and they seem generally to be in good condition. But the human population, the Bakelahari, whom the Baman-gwato monarch so cruelly oppresses, and who suffer dreadfully from many natural privations and hardships, are abject creatures, with sunken visage, large protruding abdomens, and small thin limbs, and look like outcasts on the earth.

The travellers needed all possible exertion and contrivance, and heroism and patience, to get through the desert. They met no obstructions from man, indeed ; but they found plenty, and these both severe and constant, in the climate and the ground. The want of water was terrible ; and the track almost everywhere was either dense bush or heavy sand. The oxen waddled rather than walked ; the waggons seemed ever ready to stick fast ; the drivers wearied themselves with voice and whip ; and long before the desert was half crossed, the travellers began to feel sadly doubtful of success. The guides also were incompetent, and more than once aggravated the disasters by losing the way. But at the very crisis of calamity, deliverance was obtained ; for, at a moment when thirst, and bewilderment, and exhaustion were doing their utmost, the cavalcade debouched on a large river. “ We had been two full days without water,” says Mr. Oswell, “ and were going in any but the right direction, when I captured a Bushwoman whom I saw skulking off in the long grass. A few beads and mortal terror induced her to confess that she knew of a spring, and offered to conduct us thither. After passing through a very thick belt of trees, we came suddenly on an enormous salt-pan, or rather succession of salt-pans. It was evening, and the setting sun cast a blue haze over the white incrustations, making them look so much like water, that though I was within thirty yards of the edge, I made sure that I had at last reached *the lake*, and throwing up my hat in the air, shouted till the Bushwoman and

CHAP. XXI

Progress
through the
desert.Illusion from
salt-pans.

CHAP. XXI. Bakuains thought I was mad. I soon discovered my mistake,—many made it after me. By the side of the first pan was a small spring of very brackish water. Our oxen reached it next morning. From this point, toward the west-north-west and north-east, we could see dense columns of black smoke rising, and were assured that it was the reeds of the lake on fire ! Little thought we that the lake was still some 300 miles from us. Livingston and myself had been clambering up the little hillocks in vain to get a first view for the last three days ; but all doubts of seeing it eventually vanished on the 4th of July, when riding out from our night's resting place, a little beyond Chakotsa, to search for a path, we came upon the real water river (the Zouga) running, as we struck it, towards the north-east."

The river
Zouga.

The Zouga proved to be the efflux of the lake, and afforded the travellers a pleasant route to their destination. Their troubles on reaching it were at an end. It was about thirty yards wide where they struck it ; but, unlike other rivers, it became wider and deeper as they ascended it. Its water was clear as crystal, soft, and very cold. Its banks in some parts are flat and rather swampy, but in others are high and picturesque, and in most are lined with palms, baobabs, and other large and beautiful trees. It is augmented by several affluents, particularly a very large one called Tamunakle on the left bank, about forty-five miles from the lake. It has periodical or seasonal floods, and then brings down large shoals of fish. It flows at first eastward and then south-eastward ; and is believed to be dissipated, at no great distance, in a sandy desert. Its banks abound with wild beasts, and are profusely indented with well-concealed pitfalls for catching elephants.

Progress up
the banks of
the Zouga.

The travellers learned at once from the natives that the Zouga effluxes from the great lake ; and they went merrily up its banks, but were much retarded by tumbling into the pitfalls, and working through the jungle. After proceeding for about ninety miles, they

selected one waggon and some of the best of the cattle ; CHAP. XXI.
 and leaving all the rest of the cavalcade to remain there
 till they returned, they set off with increased energy and
 speed. This was on the 16th of July ; and twelve days
 after, they stood on the shore of the lake. But they Arrival at the lake.
 were prevented there by a projecting piece of land,
 either island or peninsula, from getting a fair view of
 its expanse ; and they rode about six miles south-west-
 ward along the beach, and then they were fully and
 exultingly satisfied. The lake spread before them in
 one direction about fourteen miles, and in another di-
 rection away to the horizon like the boundless ocean.
 What was the real extent of it they had not time nor
 opportunity to ascertain, but could only conjecture,
 roughly and dimly, from the statements of the natives.
 No canoes cross it ; but some coast along it and round
 it. A man takes two days to walk to the south-west
 extremity, and one day more to walk to the north-west,
 and then finds a river called the Teoge, entering from
 the north-north-east. So at least said the natives ; and
 on these data the lake is supposed to be about seventy
 or seventy-five miles long. Its elevation above the
 level of the sea was thermometrically ascertained to be
 about 2825 feet ; and its position at the efflux of the
 Zougá was thought to be 20° 19' south latitude, and
 about 24° east longitude. The distance travelled to it
 from Koulobeng was 603 miles, but probably could
 have been shortened by a knowledge of short cuts to
 about 550 miles.

The inhabitants of the country along the lake, and The natives around the lake.
 all the upper parts of the Zougá called themselves
 Bayéiyé, or very manly persons ; but are called by their
 neighbours Bakoba, or slaves. They are much larger
 and darker than the Bechuanas, and in every respect
 superior to them, and have an intelligent appearance,
 and a frank manly bearing. Their canoes are roughly
 hollowed out of the trunks of single trees ; and are
 either straight or crooked according to the natural

CHAP. XXI. configuration of the trunks ; and they are never propelled by sails, but always either by paddling or punting. The fish of the waters are very numerous, and of great size, and form the chief food of the inhabitants. One species of fish with a flat head, and likewise a fly which is dangerous to cattle and horses, have not been yet found in any other part of the world ; and specimens of these, as also of the enormous tusks of the wild boar, and of a native cloth dyed with the wild indigo of the country, were welcomed in Britain as rare curiosities.

Produce of
the lake.

Mr. Livingston and Mr. Oswell were anxious to make further exploration ; and the former wished to visit a great chief whom he supposed to live about two hundred miles to the north-north-east. But they found themselves confronted by serious obstacles, and reluctantly resolved for the present to retrace their steps ; in the hope, however, of returning, under more favourable circumstances, in the following year. The lake, though a noble object in itself, seemed incomparably nobler as a door of access to vast, unexplored, interesting populous regions beyond. Mr. Livingston thought of it as likely to present a way to the aggression of civilization and Christianity among many millions of men in Central Africa ; and Mr. Oswell conjectured that it might possibly give practicability to an overland route to the Portugese settlements on the Zambezi, and help on to a solution of the earnest questions which have been raised respecting the far remoteness of the sources of the Nile. And the chief Sebitaone whom Mr. Livingston wished to visit, and whom he had good reason to believe friendly, was ascertained to have communication with the country round the Zambezi, not directly indeed, but through the medium of only one other tribe.

Connection
of the lake
with further
discovery.

The news of the discovery of the lake Ngami, made a sensation among the savans and the scientific geographers of Europe and America. A suspicion had been gaining ground that the central region of Africa is a great and lofty plateau ; and this suspicion was now

materially increased. The great elevation at which the lake lies, and the influx to it, and to the upper part of the Zouga, of large rivers from the north, decidedly indicate the existence of extensive, lofty, central mountains, not many degrees south of the equator. And to a few persons who had been watching the progress of African discovery, could the query fail to present itself, Is there not a grand alpine plateau, whose culminating ridges are the birth-place of the Congo on the west, the Teogo and the Tamunakle on the south, the Jubba on the east, and the White Nile on the north? Delight about the discovery of the lake itself, therefore, was at once merged in desire for exploration up its feeding rivers.

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Supposed
central al-
pine plateau.

Mr. Francis Galton, an ardent and energetic African geographer, had formed a plan of penetrating far into the interior, either from the north or from Port Natal, and was just about to carry it into execution; but now he resolved to go by the shortest route from the south right to Lake Ngami, and to attempt to penetrate thence to Abyssinia. He furnished himself with all desirable appliances, and sailed in April 1850 for the Cape of Good Hope. Another explorer, Mr. Anderson, a Swede, accompanied him; and a third, Mr. Charles Johnston, went about the same time from Port Natal. Mr. Os- well, also, before commencing his return from the discovery of the lake, resolved that he would next year take up a boat at his own expense from the Cape, and sail in it to the north end of the lake.

Several
schemes of
exploration.

But, in the meantime, Mr. Livingston himself got up and away. Accompanied by his wife and children, and by a friendly chief and a native teacher, he left Koulobeng in April 1850, to renew his acquaintance with the lake, and to penetrate beyond it. He profited well by the experience of the former journey, and traversed the desert with little difficulty and not much privation. He at first intended to go right up the Tamunakle, but afterwards saw cause to go first to the

Livingston's
second jour-
ney to Lake
Ngami.

CHAP. XXI. old ground at the efflux of the Zouga from the lake. The venomous fly was reputed to be ruinously abundant in the valley of the Tamunakle ; and he must leave his family, and his teams and waggons, at the efflux of the Zouga, and go up the Tamunakle alone. The chief at the lake, though he had been shy or churlish on the former occasion, was now as kind as any civilized gentleman, and engaged both to furnish Mr. Livingston with guides for his expedition, and to make provision for his family during his absence. But just when the enterprising missionary was about to proceed, an endemic fever broke out with violence among his party, and compelled him once more to desist from further exploration. The fever was caused by exhalations from marshes on the banks of the lake and the river, and is common among the natives at the time of the year when the water is lowest, and the evaporation most abundant ; and it may possibly prevent Europeans from settling on the lake, in the same way in which a similar evil repels European intercourse from the delta of the Niger.

Endemic disease round the lake.

Livingston's third exploratory journey.

In the spring of 1851, Mr. Livingston and Mr. Oswell made another exploratory journey. They proceeded by the same route as on their first journey as far as to Chakotsa, in the vicinity of the Zouga, and then directed their course nearly due north. The first region which they entered beyond the Zouga is largely occupied by salt-pans, one of which they computed to be at least fifteen miles broad, and perhaps 100 miles long. The next tract is "perfectly level and hard," rich in springs, and comparatively fertile ; and is inhabited by a considerable population of Bushmen, who are subject to Sicomy, and display more intelligence than most of the tribes of South Africa. "These people," says Mr. Livingston, "are remarkably unlike their more southern brethren, though speaking a dialect of the same language, and bearing the same name. They are fine, tall, strapping fellows, and nearly as black as the Caffres, and are also the most daring Bushmen in the

country, frequently killing the elephant both by day and during moonlight nights. The entire Bushman nation, as scattered over the Kalahari desert, around and westward of the lake, and likewise in the regions to the north of that, must be very large. The theory that Bushmen are Hottentots, driven to their present position and habits by the encroachments of the whites, receives no confirmation from any tradition existing among themselves, nor from the actual and immemorial condition of the more distant hordes." CHAP. XXI

The Bush-
men of the
Desert.

After leaving Sicomy's country, Messrs. Livingston and Oswell for some days traversed "the worst country they had seen in Africa," parched with excessive drought, producing only low arid shrubs, and pervaded by a deathly stillness which not a bird or an insect seemed ever to disturb. But beyond this they entered the country of Sebitaone, the great chief whom they vainly sought to visit in their first journey, and found it to be fertile in soil, abundant in waters, and teeming with population. They sojourned about two months on the Chobé river, in south latitude $18^{\circ} 20'$, and east longitude 26° ; and made a trip thence to the Seshéhé river, in south latitude $17^{\circ} 28'$, and east longitude $26^{\circ} 50'$. These rivers, which are very large even toward the end of the dry season, they believed to belong to the system of the Zambezé. "The extensive region to the north, north-east, and north-west of the Chobé and Seshéhé rivers," say they, "is for hundreds of miles nearly a dead level. In passing along a hundred miles from the part where our waggons stood on the Chobé to the river Seshéhé, we saw no rise higher than an ant-hill. The country is intersected by numerous deep rivers; and, adjacent to each of these, immense reedy bogs or swamps stretch away in almost every direction. Oxen cannot pass through these swamps, but sink in; and, on looking down into the holes thus made, the parts immediately under the surface are seen to be filled with water. These rivers are not like many which bear the

The country
of Sebitaone.

CHAP. XXI. name of such in South Africa, mere 'nullahs,' containing nothing but sand and stones. On the contrary, all those which came under our observation here contained large volumes of water, and that too flowing with considerable rapidity at the end of an extraordinarily dry season. Yet on sounding the Chobé, we found it to have a regular depth of fifteen feet on the side to which the water swung, and twelve feet on the calm side. The banks below the lowest water-mark were nearly perpendicular, and the water was as deep a foot from the bank as in the middle of the stream; the roots of the reeds and coarse grass seeming to prevent it from wearing away the banks,—which, however, in many parts are undermined and overhang the water. The lands in this region are raised only a few feet above the prevailing level on which the people pasture their cattle, make their gardens, and build their towns. The rivers overflow their banks annually; and when they fill, the whole country is inundated, and must present the appearance of a vast lake with numerous islands scattered over its surface."

The river
Chobé.

The slave
trade.

Sebitaone received the travellers most hospitably, but died about a fortnight after their arrival. His successor in authority seemed equally hospitable, and it was hoped would give countenance to Europeans either for the purpose of trade or for that of Christian missions. The slave-trade had never been known there till only a few months before,—when some dealers in it had penetrated through the interior from the west; and even that most atrocious traffic, so horrible to the veriest savages, had been tolerated,—the authorities giving it no opposition, and many of the people being easily induced to part with young persons under their protection in exchange for gaudy European goods. The country abounds in natural productions suitable for commerce, which the natives could easily collect and would readily dispose of; and Mr. Livingston suggests that British merchants, by sending articles to be bar-

tered for these, might both earn fair profits, and prevent the growth of the traffic in slaves. CHAP. XXI

Mr. Francis Galton, who is mentioned on our 429th page, was induced by the Governor of the Cape Colony to commence his explorations on the west coast at Walfisch Bay. He landed there in August 1850, travelled thence westward and northward, and did not return thither till December 1851; and, though not penetrating to Lake Ngami, he discovered a great extent of country lying between that lake and the coast. "Having journeyed about 1600 miles between Walfisch Bay on the south, and Ondonga in south latitude $17^{\circ} 58'$ near the Nourse River on the north," says Sir R. J. Murchison, in his presidential address to the Royal Geographical Society, "and extending his explorations inland to the 21st degree of east longitude, Mr. Galton has made a very important addition to our acquaintance with the geography of Southern Africa. Through this journey, accomplished entirely at the expense and by the energy of Mr. Galton, we obtained a description of the Dammara people, who, though a race of fine stature, are in a low moral state, and likely to be extinguished by the more powerful and enterprising Namaquas. The high table-land, which was traversed to reach the Ovampo, is cut through by deep ravines, the chief of which serve as escapes for the periodical floods of the rivers. Like his contemporaries on the eastern side of the African water-shed, Mr. Galton passed over a great saline deposit, as if the residue of a desiccated lake, and met with a brackish, a tepid, and a very hot spring." Mr. Galton's explorations.
The Dammara people.

"In delineating the moral character as well as the physical conformation of the different tribes or nations of South Africa, it is interesting to observe, from the observations of Mr. Galton, how their differences are connected with the form, sub-soil, and vegetation of their respective lands. Thus, the arid, inland plateaux, covered only with thick jungles and short brushwood,

CHAP. XXI

hold the dwarfed and sinewy Bushman ; the more open, hilly, and undulating pasture lands, the Dammaras, a nation of independent herdsmen, each chief of a family being supreme in his own little circle ; whilst the rich corn lands on the north are occupied by the race which is the most civilized and advanced, the

The Ovampo.

Ovampo. Ondonga, the capital of this people, (whose king would not permit our traveller to proceed northwards), is estimated to be about seventy or eighty miles to the south of the great river Amorongo-Achilunda, the Nourse of our maps.

“ This journey, together with other excursions towards the interior of Southern Africa, whether undertaken from the south or from the west, have led us to conclude that, whilst plateaux of some altitude fringe the coasts and advance some distance into the interior, (rising, as in the Dammara country, according to Mr. Galton, to heights of about 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the sea), the more central country, instead of being a mountainous region, is a watershed of little greater elevation ; whilst the most central region of all is of no great altitude, and is occupied by a succession of lakes, of which Ngami is the southernmost.”

Mr. Anderson's explorations.

Mr. Anderson, the Swede, who is alluded to in our 429th page, accompanied Mr. Galton throughout his journey from Walfisch Bay to Ondonga and back ; and when Mr. Galton returned to Europe, Mr. Anderson remained in Africa, in order to repeat the exploration and to extend it. He reached Ondonga a second time in June 1853, and he proceeded thence in a journey of about two hundred miles, to Lake Ngami. He consumed about four weeks in that journey, but was inactive during more than half of the time, in consequence of a severe wound received from a black rhinoceros. Much of the new country traversed by him was arid wilderness, but much also was good pasture, alive with wild flocks, though but thinly inhabited by men ; and

most was dense, thorny thicket, almost impenetrable by waggons, and so harassing to our traveller and his attendants as to tear their clothes, their carosses, and even their strong ox-hide saddle-bags, into ribands. CHAP. XXI.

Lake Ngami, as it first burst upon Mr. Anderson's view, looked magnificent. But, on his becoming better acquainted with it, he felt disappointment as to both its size and its character. He went nearly quite round it, and otherwise closely examined it; and he was led to the conclusion, that it does not exceed eighty-two miles in circumference, and nine miles in extreme breadth: but, much of its shore being low, sandy, and without tree or bush, he saw it, as the discoverers of it had seen it, stretching away to the horizon. He observed it to undergo a considerable daily rise and fall on either shore, similar to a flow and ebb; and he inferred, from indications round its shores, as well as from some accounts of the natives, that about sixty years ago it was much larger than at present, and was at a previous time smaller. The former of these phenomena he ascribes to diurnal change in the local winds, pushing the waters during one part of the day in one direction, and in the other part of the day in the opposite direction; and the latter he ascribes to the prevalence of excessive rains in one continuous series of seasons, and to the prevalence of unusual droughts in another series. The lake was found by him to extend, not north and south, but in an east-north-easterly direction, and to be contracted in the middle and expanded at the ends. Two species of antelopes, new to science, and a great variety of game, occur in its neighbourhood; but the only marketable articles yet ascertained are ostrich feathers, various kinds of skins, rhinoceros-horns, and elephant and sea-cow ivory.

His examination of Lake Ngami.

Products of the lake's neighbourhood.

Mr. Anderson borrowed two canoes from the chief of the Bayeyiyé to explore the River Teoge. This stream has a southerly course, and enters the north-west cor-

CHAP. XXI. ner of the Lake Ngami. He ascended it for thirteen days, but found it so tortuous that, at the end of that time, he had made only about one degree of northing.

The banks of the River Teoge. Its banks, for some days, were dreary and monotonous, frequently expanding into miles and miles of reedy marshes, relieved only by occasional groups of palm-trees; but farther up, they became diversified and higher, richly feathered with wood, and teeming with the beasts of the forest. On the ninth day our traveller diverged into an affluent which he describes as "merely one of those small branches of the main stream so frequently met with which are formed by the Teoge overflowing its banks, which not unusually rejoin it after a day or two." He found this locality a continuous series of streams, lakes, and swamps, dotted or fringed with pieces of most luxuriant vegetation; and, spending two nights in it, "found himself early and late immersed in water, sometimes swimming, at other times wading up to his neck." This profusion of water, accompanied with equal profusion of organic life, in the near vicinity of arid regions, is all the more remarkable that the time of Mr. Anderson's visit to it was in the middle of the dry season of the year. He learned that the appearances farther north were similar to those around him; but he was hindered from proceeding farther by the sudden, capricious withdrawal from him of all requisite assistance for continuing his exploration. He got sure intelligence, however, of the existence, at six days' farther travel up the river, of a thickly-peopled district, rich in native products, beautiful in scenery, and largely frequented by neighbouring tribes as a centre of great inland traffic.

The richness of the Teoge's basin.

Mr. (now Dr.) Livingston, in the meanwhile, was away on the grandest exploration which had yet been undertaken anywhere in Southern Africa. He determined to carry out the design of his own former explorations with the utmost fire of his zeal, and to the

extremity of his strength. He disencumbered himself of all other cares, and went with singleness of heart to the execution of his purpose. Having, in June 1852, sent off his family to England, to abide there the results of his enterprise, he once more set his face toward the country of the Chobé River, accompanied only by a small number of native attendants, with the least possible amount of travelling equipage. His intention was to obtain a better acquaintance with the regions he had last visited, and to attempt to discover an easy or at least practicable route of communication between them and either the western or the eastern coast.

CHAP. XXI.
—
Livingston's
fourth ex-
ploratory
journey.

For some distance he pursued the same direction as on his previous journey; but afterwards he went in a direction more to the left. His new path led him into a densely wooded country, thickly overgrown with vines, showing plenteous clusters of dark purple grapes, but offering such resistance to progress that in many parts he was obliged to cut his way through it with the axe. On reaching the region of the rivers described on our 431st page, he found the whole country in the condition of a vast lake, variegated with islets and with tufts of wood. The rivers were not now, as at his former visit, within their ordinary channels, but had all overflowed their banks. His attendants, also, with only one exception, were all now struck with sickness, and could not proceed. Abandoning everything except a small pontoon, and accompanied by only one person, he "splashed through twenty miles of inundated plain" in search of the channel of the Chobé; and on approaching this, he found himself intercepted by a broad barrier of reeds, flags, papyrus, and what he calls a "horrid sort of grass, about six feet high, having serrated edges, which cut his hands most cruelly, and wore his strong moleskin unmentionables quite through at the knees." Three days did he spend in working his way through this barrier, constantly wading up to his waist, and

His approach
to the Chobé
river.

CHAP. XXI. dragging the pontoon after him, yet sleeping soundly at night. On reaching the open current of the Chobé, he launched out in his pontoon, and, sailing down about twenty miles, reached a water-girt village of the Makololo, the tribe of the deceased chief Sebitoané. The villagers, who supposed themselves intrenched by the outspread waters from all possible invasion by man, were thunderstruck at his appearance; but on ascertaining who he was, under their profound veneration for his character, they accounted for his appearance by alleging that "he had fallen as from a cloud, and came riding on a hippopotamus." Intelligence of his arrival soon spread by canoe among other villages of the tribe, and brought out an assemblage of well-manned canoes to convey him to the capital, and to go in quest of the invalids and the waggon he had left behind. Sekeletu, the successor of Sebitoané, and then nineteen years of age, gave him a cordial welcome, exclaiming, "I have now got another father instead of Sebitoané." All the people also, in their own rude way, celebrated his arrival as a brighter event, and far fuller of promise, than any they had ever known.

His arrival
among the
Makololo.

His residence
at Linyanti. Dr. Livingston remained several months at Linyanti, the capital of the Makololo, promoting the welfare of chief and people, and obtaining information respecting the surrounding country. He doubted nothing that the rich country around him lay within the basin of the Zambezé, and probably extended eastward, in its beauty and luxuriance, all the way to the Indian Ocean; but he soon became satisfied that, in both breadth and wealthiness, it also extended far in the upward direction, toward the north-west; and he resolved to explore experimentally in that direction, with the view of testing his hopes as to the probability of discovering a good route of communication westward to the Atlantic Ocean. He left Linyanti in July 1853, accompanied by a strong escort of the Makololo. His path was on the waters,

up a grand channel, bearing the name of the Lecambye, CHAP. XXI. which he came to regard as the main head-stream of the Zambezé. This river, as he ascended it, realized his highest anticipations. "It is often," he says, "more than a mile broad, and adorned with numerous islands of from three to four miles in length. These, and the banks too, are covered with forest; and most of the trees on the brink of the water send down roots from their branches, like the banian. The islands at a little distance seemed rounded masses of sylvan vegetation of various hues, reclining on the bosom of the glorious stream. The beauty of the scene is greatly increased by the date-palm and the lofty palmyra towering above the rest, and casting their feathery foliage against a cloudless sky. The banks are rocky and undulating, and many villages are situated upon them, inhabited by a poor but industrious people, who are expert hunters of hippopotami and other animals, and cultivate grain extensively." From about fifty miles up, or more, on to about south latitude 16°, the river has a rocky, declivitous bed, causing it to form a succession of cataracts; but north of this, it traverses a rich plain about a hundred miles long from north to south, bounded by two hill-ranges which diverge from the vicinity of the river till they attain a distance from each other of about twenty or thirty miles. The plain is inhabited by an industrious tribe, called the Barotse, who practise vigorously, in their own rude way, the arts of both tilling and depasturing, and who have formed numerous mounds for the inhabitation of both themselves and their cattle during the yearly season of the floods. Birds abound on the river, and the beasts of the forest swarm in every place not occupied by man. "The herds of large animals," says Dr. Livingston, "surpass anything I ever saw. Elands and buffaloes, 'their tameness was shocking to me.' Eighty-one buffaloes defiled slowly before our fire one evening, and lions

His exploration of the Lecambye.

His account of the country of the Barotse.

in his armpit, as the only place which could preserve it from being ruined; and night after night he lay in his drenched clothes on the saturated ground, suffering repeated attacks of intermittent fever, till at length he became so weak and giddy as to be scarcely able to sit on his ox or maintain full command of his mind. Yet, in spite of all disasters, he made good observation of the regions which he traversed, and performed keenly and constantly the work of a wise, benevolent, scientific explorer.

The country traversed by him between the Leeba and the rivers which run to the Atlantic is inhabited by a tribe called the Balonda. It seemed principally an elevated tableau of great breadth, with a sudden descent of about two thousand feet on its west flank. Its general surface is a series of undulations, each four or five miles broad, disposed lengthwise from north-northeast to south-south-west, and separated from one another by troughs or valleys, each about a mile wide, and either watered by a stream or occupied by a marsh. Dense forests cover all the undulations, and fine meadows, variegated by the dwellings and gardens of the inhabitants, overspread the valleys. All the country is thickly peopled. Villages were passed every few miles, often so many as ten in a day. Some were extremely neat; while others stood amid such rank vegetation that only the tops of them, even when they were close at hand, could be seen by our traveller from his place on the ox-saddle. The inhabitants obtain abundant food by an easy working of the ground, favoured by conditions of soil and climate which render planting or reaping suitable at every season of the year; and they behaved most kindly to Dr. Livingston and his assistants, lavishing the produce of their crops upon them without either entreaty or reward. And well was it for our travellers to be thus supplied, for they found no game in the country of the Balonda, and little or no wild fruit.

CHAP. XXI.

His passage
through the
country of
the Balonda.

His hospita-
ble reception
by the Balon-
da.

CHAP. XXI. On proceeding farther west, among another tribe called Chibiqui, Dr. Livingston received very different treatment. These people live near enough the coast to have learned avaricious practices from the remote traffic of the Portuguese, without at the same time learning anything good. They demanded from Dr. Livingston, on the most frivolous pretences, payments of whatever he possessed, or even of "a man, an ox, or a gun;" and on meeting a refusal, they sometimes congregated or followed in great multitudes, brandishing their weapons and uttering the most menacing cries. Our travellers vainly tried to satisfy them by parting with nearly everything they possessed, and at last were obliged to assume appearances of stolid indifference, and to push on in silence. But on reaching the Portuguese territory, they were suddenly befriended by a settler, who made cordial efforts to supply their wants; and thence, till they reached Loanda, they experienced unbounded kindness and hospitality both from the general population and from the authorities. Dr. Livingston entered Loanda in a state of utter exhaustion. He could sit on his ox not longer than ten minutes at a time, and was reduced almost to a skeleton. But there, in the manner of the warmest friendship, he and his twenty-seven assistants were at once received into the house of Mr. Gabriel, Her Majesty's Commissioner for the suppression of the slave trade. "I shall never," says he, "forget the delicious pleasure of lying down on his bed after sleeping six months on the ground, nor the unwearied attention and kindness, through a long sickness, which Mr. Gabriel invariably showed."

His passage through the country of the Chibiqui.

His arrival at Loanda.

Dr. Livingston's native companions patiently awaited his recovery. They were struck with awe at the sight of a city. The ships in the harbour looked to them to be objects of a totally different nature from their own simple canoes. Coals discharged from one of the ships seemed to be "stones that burn." But what most of

all surprised them was the expanse of ocean spreading away to the horizon, and blending there into the sky. CHAP. XXI. —

“Our fathers told us,” said they, “that the world had no end, but they were wrong; for as we travelled on, all at once we came to the world’s end, and the world said to us, ‘I’m done; there’s no more of me,—there’s nothing but sea.’” Dr. Livingston, on recovering from his sickness, felt bound to conduct these simple creatures back to their own country. He was convinced, too, that neither the route by which he had reached Loanda, nor probably any other, was sufficiently facile to be a line of regular communication between the Atlantic coast and the regions around Linyanti; so that he felt constrained to return to these regions with the view of attempting to explore a suitable line of communication from them to the Indian Ocean.

The notions
of his native
companions.

Dr. Livingston set out on his return journey at the close of 1854. He took advantage of his retraversing the province of Angola to mark as well as he could the advantages which it offers for colonization. The immediate seaboard, except in the vicinity of streams, presents a rather arid appearance, with plenty of hard, coarse grass, but not many trees. Yet even here the lands along the streams, to the breadth of several miles, are low, alluvial, and fertile, yielding fine crops of sugar-cane, manioc, esculent vegetables, oranges, bananas, and mangoes. The country more inland is mountainous, well watered with perennial springs, and mollified by dense vapours brought regularly up at different hours of the day by western winds. Dense forests cover the mountains, umbrageous with huge branches and large climbers, resonant with the calls of tropical birds, and similar in tone and character to the great forests of Brazil. The palm which yields the oil of commerce everywhere abounds; pine-apples, bananas, and several kinds of South American fruit-trees, first introduced by the Portuguese missionaries, flourish wild in the

His return
journey
through An-
gola.

CHAP. XXI. woods; and most excellent coffee, which originated from a few seeds of the celebrated Mocha, propagates itself spontaneously and profusely in the forests. Dr. Livingston's return journey through the regions between Angola and Linyanti was attended by some adventures, but did not elicit much additional information.

Moffat's ex-
ploration to
Matlokotloko

The Rev. Robert Moffat, Dr. Livingston's father-in-law, in the meantime made a remarkable exploration from his station at Kuruman, south of Koulobeng, to Matlokotloko, the town of a great chief called Moselekatse, situated to the east of the country of the Makololo, at the distance of only ten days' journey from the Zambezé. His object, in this exploration, was partly to open the way for a missionary settlement in Moselekatse's country, and partly to engage that chief to send forward papers and supplies to Dr. Livingston, to await him in the course of his expected progress down the Zambezé. Mr. Moffat's journey occupied seven months, and lay chiefly through a beautiful, wooded, well-watered country. Moselekatse's dominions were ascertained to extend from the Limpopo to the Zambezé; and his subjects to comprise several tribes, one of whom speaks a language into which Mr. Moffat had already translated the Bible. Moselekatse welcomed Mr. Moffat most cordially, formed a strong friendship with him, undertook at once to send a party of twenty-one men onward with the supplies to Dr. Livingston, and gave Mr. Moffat himself an escort and supplies for his own return journey to Kuruman. The party sent forward with Dr. Livingston's supplies carried seventeen boxes and other packages; and on arriving at the Zambezé they laid these down on the bank of the river, and hailed some Makololo on the opposite bank to come over and receive them. The Makololo were at war with Moselekatse, and suspected treachery; but after the party went away, they crossed the river, conveyed the packages to an island, put them under protection from the weather,

His reception
by Mosele-
katse.

and so left them that Dr. Livingston, upwards of a year after, when on his way to the east, found them all in perfect safety. CHAP. XXI.

Dr. Livingston, after returning from the west to Linyanti, abode there nearly two months. No fewer than one hundred and fourteen picked men of the Makololo volunteered to accompany him to the east coast. He resolved to proceed on ox-back down the left side of the Zambezé. His route would lie, for a long distance, through the dominions of Sekeletu, and was likely to receive rather help than hinderance from any influence which might be made to bear upon it by the neighbouring great chief, Moselekatse. Dr. Livingston proceeded on his journey amid constant demonstrations of joy and welcome. The natives everywhere received him with respect or veneration, and did all they could, gracefully and gratuitously, to give food and shelter to himself and his attendants. He readily availed himself of their hospitality, yet found the country so exceedingly rich in game and esculents that he could have had no difficulty in obtaining all necessary supplies by mere foraging. Pigs, zebras, antelopes, spring-boks, giraffes, buffaloes, and elephants, everywhere abounded. Spring-boks alone were so numerous as to appear, upon a plain of twenty or twenty-five square miles, like a tremulous mass, sometimes in sprinklings and at other times in dense crowds. Geese, ducks, and other birds, lay like clouds within the view, insomuch that nearly a score of them would fall by a single shot. Nor was fish much less plentiful than flesh and fowl.

Livingston's
journey to-
ward the east
coast.

Profusion
of game
throughout
his journey.

Dr. Livingston, throughout the early part of his journey, kept in sight of the Zambezé, and took note of its sinuosities. In south latitude $17^{\circ} 57'$, and east longitude $26^{\circ} 6'$, he came in view of the most striking object which he has anywhere seen in Africa. This is a stupendous cataract of the Zambezé, very different in style from the famous falls of Niagara, but fully equal

CHAP. XXI. to them in scenic power. The river contracts from a width of about 3,000 feet, rushes into a fissure in basaltic rock only about 75 feet wide, shoots down a deep gorge not much wider, and falls thence about 105 feet into a trough of 90 feet in diameter, disengaging vapours which ascend to the height of 300 or 400 feet, forming an outspread cloud, and condensing into perpetual rain. So was the cataract seen, in the dry season, by Dr. Livingston. But in the rainy season the river, though swollen beyond its ordinary bed to a breadth of many miles, still forces its augmented volume through the same fissure into the same trough; and then, as the natives report, the roar and the spray of its fall are perceptible at the distance of ten or twelve miles.

The falls of
the Zambezé.

The hills of
the Kafué.

On leaving the falls, Dr. Livingston deflected from the Zambezé and travelled one hundred and forty miles through a very rocky country to a point where the Zambezé is joined on its left bank by the Kafué. This tributary is a majestic stream, broad and deep, watering a well-peopled region, inhabited by tribes who have some peculiar usages. A fine range of hills, which Dr. Livingston ascertained to have an altitude of about four thousand feet above the level of the sea, stretches along the east flank of the Kafué, far away to the north. This range, together with a considerable territory to the eastward of it, is much higher than most other parts of the basin of the Zambezé and of its tributaries which our traveller had seen. It is likewise free from both marsh and forest. The surface of it is open and undulating, carpeted with short grass, looking like an extensive park, and well suited to the purposes of either tillage or pasture. The climate of it likewise is good,—free alike from the inflaming heats of the desert and the feverish damps of the flooded countries, and seemingly well adapted to maintain both the health and the cheerfulness of European settlers. Dr. Livingston, therefore, hailed it as the very tract of which he had

been in search in all his wanderings, as an excellent great seat of Christian missions to the central parts of Southern Africa. CHAP. XXI. —

Our traveller, pursuing his way down the left side of the Zambezé, arrived, about a hundred miles farther on, at the mouth of another large tributary, called the Loangula. There he saw some ruins of a town called Zumbo, built by the early Portuguese colonists, but long ago deserted. He thence pursued his course through a difficult country, covered with brushwood, swarming with beasts of prey, and inhabited by a most ferocious tribe of savages. He had no longer an ox, and was obliged to go through this country on foot. His sufferings and exhaustion, therefore, became very great, insomuch that, on arriving within eight miles of Tete, a Portuguese town on the Zambezé, where he confidently expected to receive a most hospitable welcome, he sank on the ground as if to die, and could not, till refreshments were brought to him from the town, be induced by his companions to arise and make another effort. But at length, on the 2d of March 1856, he entered Tete, and there, in the house of the governor, he enjoyed such kindness and repose as speedily restored him to strength. The country below Zumbo.

Tete stands on the Zambezé, at the distance of three hundred miles from the sea. All the course of the river below it is through a pestilential delta of similar character to that of the Niger. The time of Dr. Livingston's arrival and recovery being an unhealthy one for traversing the delta, he resolved to remain some weeks at Tete to make inquiry into the capacities and resources of the surrounding country. These proved to be rich, up to his highest point of expectation; and, at the same time, are such as to render Tete an effective entrepôt of facile communication from the ocean, up the Zambezé, to all the countries explored by Dr. Livingston as far west as to the Leeba. Coal is abundant; The country around Tete.

CHAP. XXI. excellent iron ore is plentiful ; gold in large quantity has
 — been found ; vegetable productions of the kinds common to Southern Africa, together with senna and cinchona, abound ; sugar and indigo might be raised to almost any extent ; and all the valuables of the waste or the forest, such as bees' wax and ivory, can be largely accumulated. The navigation of the Zambezé also, both for ships up its delta and for vessels of various kinds up its trunk-stream and its main tributaries, promises to be easy. This great river, in fact, viewed in connection with Dr. Livingston's discoveries, looks to be a patent highway perfectly prepared by Divine Providence for the triumphant entrance of Christianity, civilization, and trade, to all the interior of Southern Africa.

The navigation of the Zambezé.

Dr. Livingston, before leaving Tete, made arrangements for his fellow-travellers of the Makololo to remain there during a year or more, till he should proceed to England and return. They could have no difficulty in supporting themselves during his absence on the game and wild fruits of the neighbouring forests ; and they would need both his counsel as a friend and his guidance as an astronomical observer to conduct them safely back through the trackless regions to their home. He left them, therefore, under a mutual understanding that, before the close of the year 1857, he would return. He reached Quillimane on the coast on the 26th of May, but ascertained that that town, contrary to all previous belief, stands, not at one of the mouths of the Zambezé, but upon an insignificant stream some distance to the north. Thence he set sail to England, to make known his discoveries, and to invite the directors of the great missionary society with which he is connected to send out a colony of missionaries to the high, healthy tract of country at the confluence of the Kafué and the Zambezé.

Livingston's visit to England.

CHAPTER XXII.

Social Condition of Africa.

Distinction between Native and Foreign Tribes—Natives—Agriculture—Manufactures—Internal Trade—Exports and Imports between Great Britain and Western Africa—Domestic Accommodation—Intellectual Character—Superstitions—War and Slavery—Amiable Features—Forms of Government—Foreign Races—Mohammedan Converts—European Colonization—Cape of Good Hope—Albany District—Natal—Effects of Missionary Enterprise—Sierra Leone—Settlements on the Gambia—The Gold Coast—The Origin, History, and Present Condition of Liberia—Steam Navigation to Africa.

HAVING commenced this work by a general survey of CHAP. XXII
Africa as it came from Nature's hand, we shall conclude by giving a rapid sketch of the changes made by man,—the societies formed on its immense surface; its arts, its industry, its social and moral institutions; and noticing, finally, the attempts of Britain and the United States to establish colonies within its borders.

A special distinction must be made in the outset between the native inhabitants and the several foreign races from Arabia and other Asiatic countries, by whom a very large portion of it has been occupied. This distinction we shall rest, not upon supposed resemblances of form and figure, or faint analogies between the language of distant nations, but upon the introduction, within the period of authentic history, of a people, manners, and religion, belonging to another continent. The changes now mentioned were effected, in a great measure, by the inroads of the Arabs or Saracens, and afterwards by the conquests of the Turks,—events which

Distinction
between
native and
foreign
tribes.

CHAP. XXII. have diffused over the northern half of Africa a social character every way different from that of the tribes by whom it was formerly inhabited. We shall begin, however, by considering the native races who at present people this quarter of the globe.

Condition of
the native
races.

Generally speaking, they still exist in that stage of society which is denominated barbarian; being only elevated above the hunting or savage state by the power of subjecting the lower animals, and by a certain rude agriculture which the fertility of the soil renders productive. Yet few of them are nomadic like the Arabs or the Tartars, having generally fixed dwellings, to which they cling with the strongest attachment. Even the tenants of the desert, who roam to a great extent in pursuit of plunder, have their little watered valleys, or a circuit of hills, in which they make their permanent abode.

The distribu-
tion of land.

Agriculture, including pasturage, forms the most important branch of industry in every society, and more especially in one where all the finer arts are yet in their infancy. In Africa, however, the extent of cultivation is still limited, while the processes employed are extremely imperfect. This is manifest from the fact that no private property in land has yet been any where established. Every city or village is encircled by an extensive common, which, being marked by no individual appropriation, may be said to belong to the king or the state, and of which a portion is granted to any one who will undertake the labour and expense of cultivating it; while the remainder is pasture-ground, on which all the inhabitants have the liberty of feeding their cattle, which must be watched by night as well as by day. There are no country seats, no rural farms, such as embellish the aspect of a European landscape; and which, in fact, could not exist in safety, where each little state is begirt with hostile neighbours, and so many predatory bands are moving in every direction. The population is collected in towns or large villages, which are surrounded with such fortifications as may

ward off the attack of a rude enemy. The space within the walls is usually pretty extensive, where the houses are interspersed with cultivated fields, and the low roofs are seen rising amidst ears of corn. All the processes of preparing the ground, sowing, and reaping, are slight and simple. The plough has not passed the limits of Barbary ; and perhaps, in tropical climates, the deep furrow which it lays open might expose the soil too much to the parching effects of a burning sun. Grain is raised only by means of profuse moisture, which of itself softens the earth. After the periodical floods have deluged the ground, and when the temporary river-inundation has retired, the labourers walk forth ; one slightly stirs the earth with a hoe, while another, close behind, deposits the grain. In most cases this duty is lightened, from being performed by all the inhabitants in common, when it appears less a scene of toil than of pastime. The village musician plays the most lively airs ; the workers keep time to his tune ; and a spectator at a little distance would suppose them to be dancing instead of labouring. Irrigation in all tropical climates is the chief source of fertility ; and wherever industry has made any progress, pains are taken to collect and distribute the waters, which either fall in rain or are conveyed by river-channels.

CHAP. XXII.
The practices
of agricul-
ture.

In all the more arid regions, the prevailing grains are of inferior character, coarse and small,—rather, as Jobson says, like seeds than corn, and fitted less for bread than for paste or pottage. The dhourra is the most common, extending over all Eastern Africa ; while millet in the west, and teff in Abyssinia, are productions nearly similar. In the latter country and Houssa, both wheat and rice are raised, but only in favourable situations, and for the tables of the more opulent. Perhaps the greatest exertion of agricultural industry is that bestowed upon the culture of the manioc, which is the main article of food in Congo and some of the insular territories. Considerable care is required in rearing it, especially in cleaning the ground round the plants ; and

The crops
cultivated.



Negroes Preparing the Manioc Root.

Manufac-
tures.

after the root, which is the valuable part, has been dug up, it must be ground in a species of mill, and dried in small furnaces, before it can be used as flour. The process is represented in the accompanying plate.

Manufactures, in a country where men are contented with the simplest accommodations, cannot attain any high importance. There are, however, certain fine fabrics peculiar to Central Africa; of which the most general is cotton cloth, produced in several districts, of a beautiful texture, dyed blue with fine indigo, and receiving from the method employed a brilliant gloss. Leather in Houssa is dressed and dyed in the same rich soft style as is practised in Morocco; and probably, in both cases, the process is native. Mats, used for sitting

and sleeping on, are the staple manufacture in many parts of Western Africa. Gold and silver ornaments are made with some taste, and iron is generally fabricated, though with an imperfect degree of skill. CHAP. XXII

The tribes of Africa have scarcely in any instance arrived at the first rudiments of maritime commerce. The circuit of that continent presents no spacious inlets of the sea,—no deep bays to cherish the growth of infant navigation. Many even of the great rivers are little it at all subservient to the purposes of mercantile communication; and hence almost all the trade, with the exception of that on the lower part of the Niger, is carried on by land. Caravans, kafilas or coffles, connect the extremities of the continent. These are formed by a union of travellers,—an arrangement necessary for mutual aid amid the difficulties and perils by which almost every track is beset. The native merchants do not employ camels, which have been introduced by a foreign race from Arabia into the northern deserts, for which they are perfectly adapted. The wagon, and indeed every species of draught, is nearly unknown, and would be ill suited to the roads, the best of which are narrow paths cut through thick and entangled forests. In the hilly and central districts, either the backs of asses or the heads of slaves serve as the ordinary vehicle. Commerce.

The largest branch of their trade originates in the urgent demand for salt in all the provinces southward of the Great Desert. This commodity is chiefly brought from the coast, from large pits in the west, and also from the lakes or ponds in the country of the Tibboo. In like manner, from the shores of the Atlantic are transmitted cowries, the usual currency of the interior kingdoms, and goora-nuts, a favourite luxury, which, on account of the agreeable taste they impart to the water drunk after them, are called African coffee. The returns are made in gold, ivory, fine cloths, and too often in slaves. The commerce with Northern Africa across the Waste consists in foreign commodities. The principal imports are gaudy glittering ornaments; for the power

The salt trade.

CHAP. XXII. of distinguishing between the genuine and the false in finery does not exist beyond the Sahara. Captain Lyon enumerates as articles of merchandise, nine kinds of beads, silks and cloths of bright colours especially red, copper kettles, long swords, powder and ball. Antimony to blacken the eyes, with cast-off clothes and old armour, find also a ready market. The returns are the same as those sent to the shores of the Atlantic.

Exports. The exports of British manufactures to the western coast of Africa have varied of late years, but, on the whole, greatly increased; thus, the amounts were in

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1827.....£155,759 | 1831.....£234,768 | 1835.....£292,540 |
| 1828.....191,452 | 1832.....290,061 | 1836.....467,186 |
| 1829.....244,253 | 1833.....329,210 | 1837.....312,938 |
| 1830.....252,123 | 1834.....326,483 | |

The following were the chief articles in 1837 :—

| | Value. |
|--|----------|
| Cottons, 4,973,412 yards..... | £135,323 |
| Woollens, 1405 pieces, 3736 yards, &c..... | 3,340 |
| Linens, 126,441 yards..... | 4,288 |
| Apparel..... | 7,400 |
| Arms and ammunition..... | 88,828 |
| Hardware and cutlery, 4350 cwts..... | 11,182 |
| Iron and steel, 955 tons..... | 12,512 |
| Brass and copper, 1228 cwts..... | 7,172 |
| Earthenware and glass..... | 5,770 |
| Salt, 180,119 bushels..... | 4,333 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 32,790 |

FOREIGN COMMODITIES.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| India Cottons, 50,042 pieces..... | 77,000 |
| — Silks, 2154 pieces..... | 2,000 |
| Spirits, Rum, 64,015 gallons..... | 22,000 |
| — Brandy, 7209..... | 2,500 |
| — Geneva, 19,760..... | 7,300 |
| Wine, 9815 gallons..... | 2,200 |
| Minor articles, say..... | 3,000 |

Total exports.....£428,938

Imports.

The following is a list of the principal imports. As the Tables of the Board of Trade, for what reason we know not, contain no official estimate of their value, or of the exports of foreign commodities, we have endeavoured to form an approximation, by comparing the

total quantities with the total value stated in the Finance Accounts for the year. CHAP. XXII

| | Value. |
|---|----------|
| Elephants' teeth (ivory), 2244 cwts | £13,300 |
| Palm oil, 223,292 cwts | 223,292 |
| Teak timber, 23,251 loads, about | 30,000 |
| Bees' wax, 4600 cwts | 21,300 |
| Pepper, 109,565 lbs. | 2,600 |
| Ginger, rice, wine, &c. say | 2,000 |
| Total | £292,492 |

This is independent of gold-dust, estimated by Mr Buxton at £260,000 ; and although the whole amount be small, it is increasing.

The monetary system of the negro countries is most imperfect ; for shells, of which it requires several thousand pieces to make a pound sterling, must be extremely inconvenient. The only metallic form of currency appears in Loggun, where it consists of rude bars of iron. In Bornou and several countries on the coast, cloth, mats, or some other article in general demand, is made the common measure of value.

The Monetary system.

All the accommodations of life are simple and limited in the greatest degree. There does not probably exist in Africa a stone house built by a native, or one which rises two stories from the ground. The materials of the very best habitations are stakes of wood plastered with earth, built in a conical form like bee-hives, and resembling the first rude shelter which man framed against the elements. In many of these mansions it is hardly possible to stand in an upright position, and indeed they are resorted to chiefly for sleep and shelter ; while the court before the door, shaded by the family tree, is the scene of social intercourse, and of all meetings for the purposes of business or gayety. Greater efforts indeed are made to form a commodious state-room or public hall, called the palaver-house ; yet this too consists merely, as shown in the annexed plate, of a large apartment, raised on posts fixed in the ground, and roofed with sloping planks, which leave the interior open to the air on every side.

Houses.



Negro Palaver-house.

Palaces.

The houses and yards of the more opulent are enclosed by an outer wall or hedge, sometimes pretty high, serving the purposes both of privacy and defence. The palaces of the grandees, and even of the monarchs, consist of a cluster of hovels, forming a little village, with large open spaces, and surrounded by a wall. The state-hall of the Sultan of the Fellatas, the greatest of African princes, is an apartment to which, in Captain Clapperton's opinion, the term *shed* would in Europe be properly applied. These edifices, however, are amply adorned, especially in the larger cities, both with carving and painting.

Furniture.

If African houses be of mean construction, the internal accommodations are equally scanty. Except the state-chairs of the sovereigns, ascended only on solemn occasions, there is not among the natives a seat to sit upon. The people squat on the ground in circles; and if the chief can place under him the skin of a lion or leopard, he is at the height of his pomp. For a table there is at best a wooden board, whereon is neither plate, knife, fork, nor spoon; the fingers being supposed fully adequate to the performance of every function. If it be necessary to separate into parts a large joint, or even a sheep roasted whole, the dagger or sword of the warrior speedily accomplishes the operation.

In regard to intellectual acquirements the natives present a remarkable deficiency ; for if we except the Ethiopic language, which is seemingly of Arabic origin, and the unknown characters, probably Phœnician, inscribed by the Tuaricks on their dark rocks, there is not a tincture of letters or of writing among all the aboriginal tribes of Africa. There is neither hieroglyph nor symbol,—nothing corresponding to the painted stories of Mexico, or the knotted *quipos* of Peru. Oral communication forms the only channel by which thought is transmitted from one country and one age to another. The lessons of time, the experience of ages, do not exist for the nations of this vast continent.

Letters.

Notwithstanding so great a deficiency, it must not be imagined that the African is sunk in entire mental apathy. The enterprise of a perilous and changeful life develops energies which generally slumber among a civilized people. Their public meetings and *palavers* exhibit a fluent and natural oratory, accompanied often with much good sense and shrewdness. Above all, the passion for poetry is nearly universal among them. As soon as the evening breeze begins to blow, the song resounds throughout all the land,—it cheers the despondency of the wanderer through the desert,—it enlivens the social meeting,—it inspires the dance,—and even the lamentations of the mourner are poured forth in measured accents. Their poetry does not consist in studied and regular pieces, such as, after previous study, are recited in our schools and theatres ; they are extemporaneous and spontaneous effusions, in which the speaker gives utterance to his hopes and fears, his joys and sorrows. All the sovereigns are attended by crowds of singing-men and singing-women, who, whenever any interesting event occurs, celebrate it in songs, which they repeat aloud in public. Flattery, of course, must be a standing reproach against this class of bards—an imputation from which their European brethren are not altogether exempted ; while, by Major Laing's report, it appears that there is often present a sable Tyrtæus, who reproaches the apathy of both prince

Poetry.

CHAP. XXII. and people, and rouses them to deeds of valour. Specimens are wanting of the African muse ; yet, considering that its effusions are numerous, inspired by nature, and animated by national enthusiasm, they seem not unlikely to reward the care of a collector. The few examples actually given favour this conclusion. How small a number among our peasantry could have produced the pathetic and affecting lamentation which was uttered in the little Bambarra cottage over the distresses of Park ! These effusions, handed down from father to son, contain all that exists among them of traditional history. From the songs of the Jillemen of Soolimani, Major Laing was enabled to compile the annals of this small kingdom for more than a century.

Religion.

In their religion the negroes labour under the disadvantage of being left to unassisted reason, and that, too, very little enlightened. Man has perhaps an instinctive sentiment that his own fate and that of the universe are ruled by some supreme and invisible power ; yet he sees this only through the medium of his wishes and imagination. He seeks for some object of veneration and means of protection, which may assume an outward and tangible shape. The African reposes his faith in the doctrine of charms, which presents a substance stamped with a supernatural character, capable of being attached to himself individually, and of affording a feeling of security amid the many evils that environ him. The *manitou* of the native American is founded upon the same principle ; and the similar use of images, beads, and relics, pervertedly employed under a pure and exalted religion, shows the strength of this propensity in the human mind. In all the Moorish borders where writing is known it forms the basis of *feticherie* ; and its productions, enclosed in golden or ornamented cases, are hung round the person as guardian influences. The very circumstance of the characters being unintelligible gives to them the power of exciting ideas more mysterious and supernatural. Where this art is unknown, a bow, a horn, a feather, the beaks and the claws of birds,

Feticherie.

with other frivolous and insignificant objects, are employed and fully relied on. But grossly absurd as are the observances of the negro, he is a stranger to the bigotry of his Moslem neighbour. He neither persecutes nor even brands as impious those whose religious views differ from his own. There is only one point on which his faith assumes a savage character, and displays horrors still darker than those of the Inquisition. The hope of an immortal destiny, dimly working in the human heart, leads to the wildest errors. As the despot, the object of boundless homage on earth, seeks to transport all his pomp and the crowd of his attendants to his place in the future world, his death must be celebrated by the corresponding sacrifice of a numerous band of slaves, of wives, and of courtiers. Their blood must moisten his grave; and as the sword of the rude warrior, once drawn, does not readily stop, a general massacre often takes place, and the palaces of these barbarian chiefs are seen to stream with blood. This horrid system is not exclusively African; but it elsewhere exists on a smaller scale, and is attached to a state of society much more decidedly savage.

CHAP. XXII.

Funeral rites.

In regard to the social aspect of this continent, the unimproved condition in which it appears may be regarded as that in which violence and wrong have the widest field, and cause the most dreadful calamities to the human race. The original simplicity, founded on the absence of all objects calculated to excite turbulent desires and passions, has disappeared, while its place is not yet supplied by the restraints of law and the refinements of civilisation. War, the favourite pursuit, is therefore carried on with the most unrelenting fury; and the treatment of captives is often very cruel. Lander mentions that when, in a contest with Lagos, Bombanee a chief of Badagry was taken prisoner, one hand was nailed to his head, the other lopt off; and in this condition he was conducted in triumph through the enemy's capital. His head was afterwards severed from his body, dried in the sun and ground to powder, which was in-

Usage of war.

CHAP. XXII. sultingly transmitted to his master. Robbery, on a great scale, is generally practised. Brilliant and costly articles are distributed with an inequality which the needy warrior seeks by his sword to redress. Nor is African depredation perpetrated by concealed or proscribed ruffians, who shrink from the eye of man, and are the outcasts of social life. It is not even confined to the poor tribes of the Desert, who see caravans laden with wealth pass along their borders. Princes, kings, and distinguished leaders, consider it a glory to place themselves at the head of an expedition undertaken solely for the purposes of plunder.

Slavery.

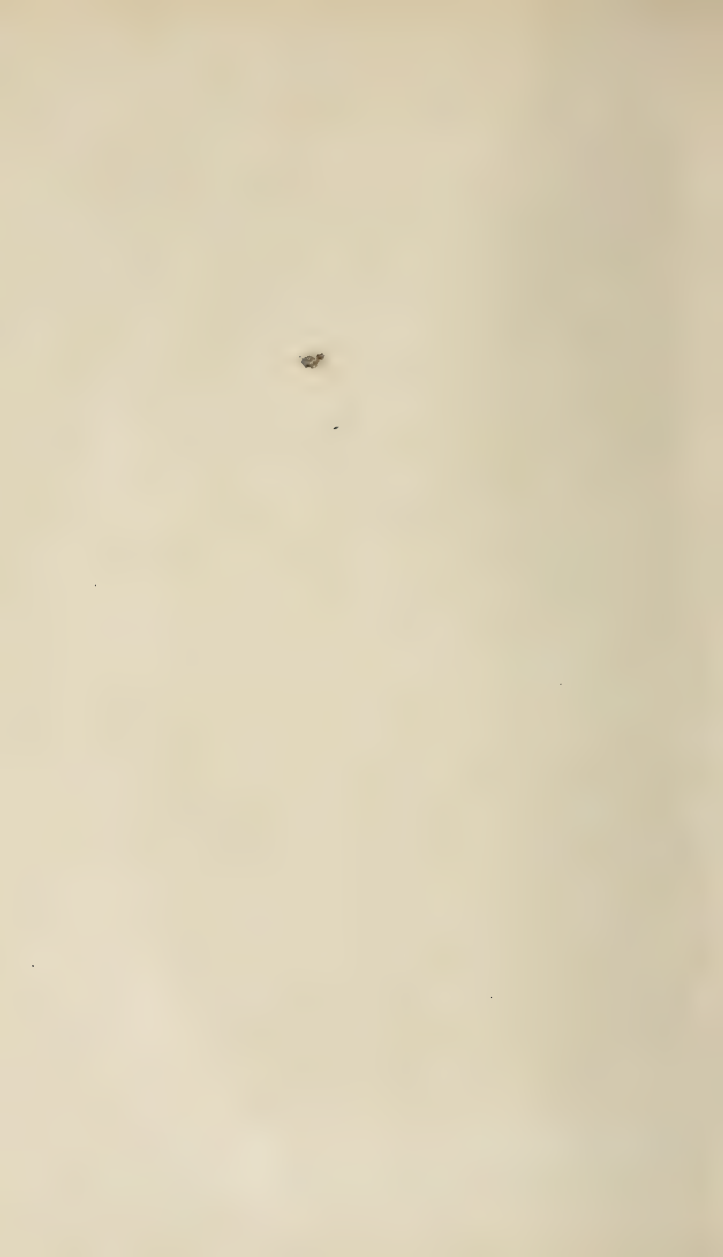
Slavery seems also to belong to the barbarian state. Man has emerged from the limited wants of savage life, and sees productions of art, which he eagerly covets, without having acquired those habits of steady industry by which he might earn them for himself. His remedy is to compel those whom his superior strength, or any other advantage, enables him to bring under subjection, to labour for the gratification of his desires. In many instances, it is true, the blind veneration of those tribes for their chiefs, induces them to submit to voluntary servitude; many again are made captive in war; and generally a great part of the population of every such society is placed in a state of bondage. Lander is convinced that in Boussa and the neighbouring countries, the proportion is not less than four-fifths. At the

Man-stealing

same time, in their native land, they are by no means harshly treated; they enjoy much freedom, and are required to devote only a certain portion of their time to the service of their masters.

From the two evils now described arises a third, still greater,—the stealing of human beings in order to make them slaves; a crime which is perpetrated throughout Africa, and attended with every circumstance of cruelty and horror. It is an enormity also in which the greatest sovereigns do not scruple to participate. Their troops surround a town in the dead of night, watching till the first dawn, when the gates are opened;—they then rush





in, set fire to it, and while the victims, with shrieks and cries, are seeking to escape, bind and carry them off into slavery. It must be confessed, at the same time, that the atrocious spirit of this warfare has been in a great measure produced by foreign connexion, either with the European powers, or with Northern Africa, Turkey, and other Mohammedan states. CHAP. XXII.

The rankest department of the slave trade for a very long period has been the conveyance of the captives across the Atlantic. This, till very recently, formed the chief bond of European connexion with all the extensive coast of Guinea. But at length it came to be prohibited effectually by Britain, France, and the United States, and nominally by Spain and Portugal. The British government, on their own account, instituted extraordinary exertions for suppressing it, and likewise obtained from the Court of Madrid permission to seize all vessels engaged in it under the Spanish flag. A considerable number of British cruisers were regularly stationed along the African coast to seize slave ships, and to carry them to Sierra Leone, where the captives on board of them were landed and set free. Very soon, however, under this stern surveillance, and in defiance of it, the atrocious traffic increased to a greater extent, and was carried on in circumstances of more aggravated cruelty, than at any former period. The price of slaves rose with the peril of conveying them; and this tempted the cupidity of the slave dealers, increased their boldness, and drew out their ingenuity to the invention of new methods for evading detection. The extension of culture in Brazil and Cuba, too, created a smart demand for as many slaves as could possibly be obtained; while the governments of these countries, though outwardly prohibiting the trade, secretly encouraged it. The number of captured negroes carried across the Atlantic during a considerable number of years was probably never less than 100,000 a-year. Multitudes also were maimed or killed in the course of the ruffianly efforts

Transatlantic
slave trade.

Transatlantic
slave
market.

CHAP XXII. to bring them to the seaboard; multitudes more were
 -- destroyed by disease or suffocation in the small swift
 vessels which were specially constructed for the trade;
 and not a few, even in entire cargoes, were uncere-
 moniously thrown into the sea, at times of close pursuit
 by the British cruisers.

Suppression
 of the slave
 trade.

About two years ago, however, the greater part of this
 horrid traffic became extinct. At only two points north
 of the equator, Lagos and Porto Novo, did it still con-
 tinue vigorous, and even there it was soon afterwards
 suppressed. Lord Palmerston, speaking officially of the
 suppression, even before the intelligence respecting Lagos
 was received, said: "The propensity only survives among
 the chiefs. The people are learning to trade with us, and
 are anxious to extend the legitimate traffic in the pro-
 ducts of the country. Besides oils, ivory, &c., hitherto
 exchanged, a good species of cotton has lately been
 reared with such success as to promise a large supply
 to this country. The Portuguese government has co-
 operated with us heartily. At Leando and the other
 chief Portuguese stations on the coast, the slave-trade
 is so paralyzed, that most of the slave-traders have
 suspended their business, and many have altogether
 transferred their ships, their capital, and their energies
 to trade of a legitimate character. On the eastern
 coast of Africa, the Imaum of Muscat has given us
 facilities never before conceded. The consequence has
 been, that in the rivers towards the southern extremi-
 ties of his dominions, where a great slave-trade has
 hitherto been carried on for the supply of Brazilian and
 Portuguese traders, barracoons have been lately de-
 stroyed capable of holding several thousands of slaves.
 On the coast of Africa, then, by the vigilance of our
 cruisers, by the effect of our treaties with native chiefs
 (treaties, I am happy to say, observed almost univer-
 sally with the greatest fidelity), by the progress made
 by Liberia within the extensive territories of which
 country the slave-trade was suspended, and by the

Anti-slavery
 movements
 in Zanzibar.

hearty co-operation of the Portuguese, French, and American officers, very much indeed has been done towards effecting the great object for which this country has so long and so energetically laboured." In Brazil, too, an intelligent, active, powerful anti-slavery party has of late years arisen, supported by the newspapers, represented in the legislature, acknowledged by the government, and carrying everything before it. Hence has indignation against the slave-trade become only a few degrees less strong and general in Brazil than in Britain; many of the Brazilian slave-dealers have been banished; most of the others have openly transferred their capital to legitimate trade; the Brazilian government has for several years employed cruisers to destroy barracoons and to sweep the seas; and almost at the same moment, when the great outlet markets for slaves in Africa were shut up, the great inlet markets for them in Brazil were destroyed.

Anti-slavery
movements
in Brazil.

Though the social evils of Africa are so great and numerous, we may repeat that they are not without some mixture of good. The native character is even distinguished by some features unusually amiable, by a peculiar warmth of the social affections, and by a close adherence to kindred ties. Maternal tenderness manifests itself in a way not the less touching that it is at the same time mingled with feelings indicative of deep superstition. Lander in his journey frequently met with mothers who carried about their persons little wooden images of their deceased infants, to whose lips they presented a portion of food whenever they partook of it themselves; and nothing could induce them to part with these inanimate memorials. Some children belonging to the colony of Liberia, who, during an embittered war, fell into the hands of the natives, were treated with such kindness, that on the conclusion of peace their parents were obliged to employ force to separate them from the females by whom they had been adopted. If some travellers have been ill treated and plundered,

Amiable
affections in
the negroes.

CHAP. XXII. others have been relieved with the most generous hospitality. The negro, unless when under the influence of some violent excitement, is, on the whole, more mild and liberal than the Moor ; it is by the latter race that the atrocities against European strangers have been chiefly perpetrated.

Forms of
Government.

In the political arrangements of the African states there occur some singular anomalies. A bold and independent spirit has been supposed to characterize man in his uncivilized condition ; and, accordingly, a number of petty communities are found to exist under a republican form of government. But all the great kingdoms are subject to the most complete and abject despotism. Thousands of brave warriors bend down to one of their fellow-mortals with a servile abasement never witnessed in polished, or, as they are sometimes called, corrupted societies. Examples so frequent and striking have occurred in the course of this narrative, that we need not adduce any farther illustration. It deserves, however, particular notice that the nations in this degraded condition are the most numerous, the most powerful, and most advanced in all the arts and improvements of life ; and that, if we except the human sacrifices to which superstition prompts them, they display a character more amiable, manners more dignified and polished, and moral conduct more correct, than prevail among the citizens of the free states, who are usually idle, turbulent, quarrelsome, and licentious. Bad, therefore, as despotic power is in itself, there appears, nevertheless, in the disposition shown by man to submit to it in this uncultivated state, something salutary, and which tends to his ultimate improvement. In many of these absolute governments, too, the sovereign and his subjects appear to be on a friendly and even familiar footing. The inhabitants of Eyeo were eager to learn what presents had been made by Lander to their monarch, were gratified by the sight of them, and exhibited their own in return. The same traveller heard the King of Boussa address to his people a long and animated discourse, ex-

Mitigation
of their
despotism.

horting them to be temperate and industrious ; and, in order to promote their good humour, he condescended to amuse them by a display of his powers in dancing, which, though they afforded much delight to his dutiful subjects, were by no means equal to those of the neighbouring King of Wawa.

CHAP. XXII

The foreign races, who have found their way to Africa by migration or conquest, are principally established in the fine country along the Mediterranean. The inroad of the Arabs or Saracens, and the subsequent triumphs of the sultans, have completely stamped the character of that people on this vast region. The Turkish sabre and the Moslem creed now lord it over these ancient seats of light and civilisation. The remnants of the native tribes are either, like the Copts, sunk in degradation, or lurking in the recesses of the mountains and wandering over desert plains, like the Berebbers, the Tibboos, and the Tuaricks. The original face of society, at once lively and various, is now moulded into gloomy monotony, such as is always produced by the influence of Mussulman habits. Turkish cities exhibit every where a uniform aspect ; high walls of earth, without windows, border on narrow and dirty streets ; and the nakedness and desolation of the exterior often form a striking contrast with the barbarian splendour within. A deep solemnity, the absence of all gay and social meetings, and the entire seclusion of females, produce an effect wholly different from that of European society. In the country, the Arab population is simple and patriarchal ; yet, unhappily, they are no strangers to violence and plunder in their very worst forms.

The Moham-
medan races
in Africa.

Their social
manners.

The two races, thus strikingly distinguished, native and foreign, Mohammedan and Pagan, are mingled in Central Africa, on the banks of the Niger, and on the other great rivers which water that region. Major Rennell considers the stream now named as the boundary between the Moors and negroes, as Pliny conceived it to separate the Africans from the Ethiopians ; and the division, though not strictly correct, is yet, in a general

CHAP. XXII

—
 Their abuse
 of literature.

sense, conformable to fact. The Moors have made extensive conversions, and have introduced all that is known of letters or writing into the interior regions; but the lurid gleam thus shed over benighted Africa serves little more than to deepen the surrounding darkness. This sublime art is prized, not as the principal means of enlightening and enlarging the human mind, but as a tool of the magic art,—an instrument for manufacturing charms and fetishes, to be sold at high prices to the deluded natives. Only a few of the great sheiks and doctors read even the koran. The most approved mode of imbibing its contents, as was formerly stated, is by tracing the characters on a smooth board with a black substance, then washing them off and swallowing the water. Others, having enclosed the sacred book in a large silver case, bear it constantly about, groaning under the burden, but expecting from it the greatest benefits.

Their native
 converts.

Bigotry among these negro converts rises to a still higher pitch; and the future doom of the unbeliever is considered even more certain than on the shores of the Mediterranean. Meantime they subject him to the earthly miseries of foreign and distant bondage; for, while it is unlawful to enslave a follower of Mohammed, the whole property, nay, the person of the Caffre, are considered as rightfully belonging to the children of the prophet. This very circumstance causes a secret abatement in that eager spirit of proselytism which burns so fiercely among the adherents of the Moslem creed. They cannot be insensible that, if the eyes of this ignorant multitude were enlightened, they themselves would forfeit the ground on which they rest their only claim, now in full exercise, of driving them by thousands to the markets of Kano and Tripoli.

In general we may observe, that while the Mussulman converts in Central Africa are so intensely bigoted in respect to opinions, they are more lax in practice than their brethren of Cairo and Tunis. The females are not so closely innured; and the men seldom adhere to

that precept of the koran which enjoins abstinence from fermented liquors. The booza, or acid beer, circulates briskly in Moslem as well as in Pagan circles. It is true that the sovereigns, who are usually zealous believers, are occasionally seized with a paroxysm of zeal, and denounce dreadful penalties against all who indulge in that beloved liquor. But this proceeding, being extremely unpopular, produces only a temporary effect, and affairs soon resume their wonted course.

The Mohammedan religion, wherever it is established, has abolished the horrors of human sacrifice,—a great and important good. In all other respects the introduction of this foreign race with their intolerant creed seems only to have aggravated the evils which Africa formerly suffered.

Effects of
Mohammed-
danism.

Colonization, which in America has been carried to so great an extent as to fill that continent almost entirely with European inhabitants, has never been attempted in Africa except on a limited scale. By much the largest settlement is that founded by the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, which was transferred to the British by the events of the last European war. An outline of its history from the earliest time till 1840 has been given in the chapter on Southern and Eastern Africa. Its subsequent history, though extending through only a few years, is so full of facts, so various from one another, and many of them so momentous, that any satisfactory outline of it which we could write would far exceed our limits, and at the same time, in several of its particulars, would belong nearly as much to a general history of the British empire as to a work on Africa. The chief subjects of it are the wars with the Caffres; important changes, political, social, and commercial, in the colony's dependencies; a variety of features in the development of the colony's own internal resources; the effects produced upon its commerce, adversely by the opening of the highway from Britain to India through Egypt, and favourably by the rapid recent increase in the traffic from Britain to Aus-

The colony of
the Cape of
Good Hope.

CHAP. XXII. tralia and New Zealand; the strong tumultuous resistance of its European population to an attempt of the British government to constitute it a penal colony; the discontentment and eventual insurrection of many of the Hottentots; the turbulence of the boors, together with the emigration of large numbers of them to regions beyond the old northern boundaries of the colony; the erection of an extensive separate sovereignty in these regions beyond the old northern boundaries; the exercise of strong political influence by the colony's government upon the independent chiefs, in the remote interior of Southern Africa, nearly up to the limits of geographical discovery; and the granting to the colony of a free constitution and a local parliament, with administration by a governor, a legislative council, and a house of assembly.

Recent history of the Cape colony.

The only point connected with the colony which we can notice in detail is the state of its agriculture and commerce; and even this we are precluded by great recent fluctuations from treating historically, or with reference to steady progress. For example, the total value of exports and imports in 1844 was respectively £350,735 and £424,451, while that of the exports and of the imports in 1836 was respectively £384,229 and £819,270. In order, therefore, to furnish a fair summary view of the Cape's general trade in recent years, we need only to give statistical tables of it as it stood in 1836, under the three heads of agriculture, exports, and imports.

The state of trade at the Cape.

AGRICULTURE.

| | | | | Bushels |
|------------------------|---------|---------------|---------|---------|
| Acres in wheat,..... | 107,206 | produce | 466,299 | |
| — barley,..... | 35,680 | — | 218,409 | |
| — rye, | 13,592 | — | 34,258 | |
| — oats,..... | 36,352 | — | 241,186 | |
| — maize and millet,... | 444 | — | 7,333 | |
| — pease, beans, &c.,.. | 1,781 | — | 9,254 | |
| — potatoes,..... | 201 | — | 8,948 | |

Leggers.* CHAP. XXII

Acres in vines and gardens,20,554† } Wine, 16,693
 } Brandy, 1,282½

No.

Acres cultivated, 215,810
 — in pasture, producing 4,480,774 lbs. of
 hay,15,368,616
 — uncultivated, 5,466,146
 Horses, 63,301
 Horned Cattle, 224,549
 Sheep, 1,510,194
 Goats, 306,785

EXPORTS.

Value.

Wine, 928,226 gallons, £84,598
 Hides, 57,848; skins, calf, 519; goat, 236,403;
 seal, 6,489; sheep, 179,669; other sorts,
 1,298, 67,634
 Horns, 188,745, 7,451
 Butter, 277,622 lbs., 11,340
 Live stock, 406 horses, 149 mules, 87 neat cattle,
 1420 sheep, 14,325
 Beef and Pork, 3091 barrels, 7,153
 Corn, viz., 28,962 bushels wheat, 6,693 barley,
 26,328 oats, 6,570 other grain, 4,969 barrels
 wheat flour, 23,640
 Wool, 373,817 lbs., 26,219
 Oil, spermaceti and train, 63,652 gallons, 5,992
 Tallow, 627,154 lbs., 10,228
 Nutmegs, 119,270 lbs., 33,387
 Ivory, 21,908 lbs., 3,733
 Tea, 259,890 lbs., 43,413
 Sundries, 45,112

Exports from
the Cape.

£384,229

IMPORTS.

Cotton manufactures, 6,935, 352 yards, &c.,... £198,273
 Woollens, 13,994 pieces, 86,444 yards, &c.,... 50,880
 Linens, 654,489 yards, &c., 26,421
 Silks, 19,421
 Leather and saddlery, 17,710

Imports to
the Cape

Carry forward, £312,705

* Of 152 English wine gallons each, or about 126½ Imperial.

† The amount in the tables is 597,091; but as this is manifestly erroneous, we have taken that for 1833, though there was probably a little increase.

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| | | |
|---|-----------------|----------|
| | Brought forward | £312,705 |
| Apparel,..... | | 20,379 |
| Haberdashery,..... | | 23,177 |
| Hats,..... | | 7,458 |
| Iron, unwrought, 1,741,152 lbs. British,..... | | 7,297 |
| — wrought,..... | | 12,674 |
| Hardware and cutlery,..... | | 14,217 |
| Glass, 389,023 lbs. bottles, 51,998 flint, 21,430 window, &c.,..... | | 7,790 |
| Books and stationery,..... | | 19,275 |
| Soap, 496,604 lbs.,..... | | 8,323 |
| Spirits, 210,411 gallons,..... | | 25,565 |
| Wine, 32,619 gallons,..... | | 9,461 |
| Wood and lumber,..... | | 13,498 |
| Sugar, raw, 1,731,705 lbs.,..... | | 17,623 |
| Nutmegs, 112,148 lbs.,..... | | 29,799 |
| Tea, 596,833 lbs.,..... | | 70,296 |
| Coffee, 1,248,651 lbs.,..... | | 21,729 |
| Tobacco,..... | | 12,447 |
| Rice, 2,365,952 lbs.,..... | | 9,690 |
| Specie,..... | | 71,550 |
| Miscellaneous,..... | | 104,317 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | £819,270 |

Imports to
the Cape.

The following is a statement of transactions in reference to the countries with which they were carried on:—

| | Exports. | Imports. |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|
| Great Britain,..... | £254,549 | £685,702 |
| France,..... | 398 | 9,420 |
| Rest of Europe,..... | 116 | 5,969 |
| Mauritius,..... | 49,855 | 24,661 |
| St. Helena,..... | 18,021 | 2,851 |
| Other African Islands,..... | 638 | 215 |
| East coast of Africa,..... | 1,096 | 3,830 |
| British India,..... | 10,655 | 16,566 |
| Oriental Islands,..... | 627 | 2,107 |
| China,..... | | 3,141 |
| Australia,..... | 25,242 | 3,337 |
| United States,..... | 28,509 | 38,679 |
| British America, &c.,..... | 3,815 | 3,965 |
| Brazil, &c.,..... | 708 | 18,827 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | £384,229 | £819,270 |

Distribution
of the Cape's
commerce.

In 1820, during a severe depression in the manu

facturing trade of Britain, about 5000 emigrants, consisting of unemployed workmen and their families, were sent out, at a public expense of about £120,000, to occupy the district of Albany, in the eastern part of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. They landed at Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, which had then only four houses,—made their way to Graham's Town, which was then a mere military post of twenty houses and huts,—and were soon scattered thence over a great extent of country, each family on a farm of its own, and obliged to devote itself chiefly to the pasturing of cattle. They at once became prosperous, and in eighteen months had created a profitable trade with the Caffres, receiving hides, horns, and ivory, in exchange for beads, buttons, and brass wire, and had penetrated with their waggons on the one side to Natal and on the other beyond Lattakoo. But some who attempted to live chiefly by tillage suffered dreadful distress from droughts and bad harvests: and all, as soon as they were fairly established on their land, and had acquired considerable property in cattle, began to be harrassed by plundering forays of the Caffres. These forays were a main cause of the wars which followed, and have kept more or less of Albany district, together with tracts adjacent to it, in constant commotion from 1822 till the present hour. Notices of this state of things, sufficient to show its nature down to the recent close of the last war, have already been given in the chapter on Southern and Eastern Africa.

CHAP. XXII.

The settle-
ment of
Albany.

The colonists, for two or three years, were overpowered and disheartened,—insomuch that a number of them left the settlement; but they afterwards rallied, multiplied, and prospered. The perilousness of their position taught them courage; detachments of British troops gave them aid; and the ample resources of the country invited them onward, many to competency and a fair proportion to wealth. In 1834, the population of the district had risen to about 11,000, that of

The progress
of that settle-
ment.

CHAP. XXII. Graham's Town to about 3000, and that of Port Elizabeth to about 1200. In the same year, the value of the yearly exports of Port Elizabeth was £89,888, and that of its imports £131,697. In 1846, the population of Graham's Town amounted to about 6000, and that of Port Elizabeth to about 3000. In 1849, the European population of the whole district was ascertained by census to exceed 34,000; and in the preceding year, the property possessed by that population, which had been accumulated by their industry, was estimated by Sir Henry Young at considerably more than four millions and a half.

The rise of
Graham's
Town.

Graham's Town now ranks next in importance in Southern Africa to Cape Town. It was formerly described as an "ugly, ill-built, straggling place, containing a strange mixture of lounging officers, idle tradesmen, drunken soldiers, and still more drunken settlers;" but it now deserves a better character. Its houses are interspersed with gardens. It has an Episcopalian Church, a Wesleyan Chapel, an elegant Roman Catholic Church in the Gothic style, a public subscription library, three weekly newspapers, barracks, breweries, tanneries, spacious stores, and a daily market. Its situation is romantic, being a deep hollow surrounded with high green hills, separated by glens overhung by steep and wooded precipices. These glens form the roads, which branch off like rays from a centre; and through them are seen slowly moving heavy waggons, drawn by oxen, frequently coming from a great distance. They bring not only provisions and necessaries, but the rude products of the surrounding districts,—skins of the lion and leopard, horns of the buffalo, eggs and feathers of the ostrich, tusks of the elephant and hippopotamus, and rich fur mantles. The annual amount of this trade so early as several years preceding 1834 was estimated, by Sir James Alexander, at £35,000. Port Elizabeth, is now the most frequented port between Cape Town and Port Natal. It has a

The trade of
Graham's
Town.

pier, which projects 350 feet into the sea, and an arsenal, which was constructed at the cost of £12,000. CHAP. XXII.

Natal is a rival settlement to Albany, in many respects similar to it, and in some respects superior. An account of its origin, and the chief incidents in its history, has already been given in the chapter on Southern and Eastern Africa. Its area comprises about 18,000 square miles. Its surface is undulating; its soil is more fertile than that of any of the Cape districts; and its climate is remarkably healthy. The land is cheap, plenty being procurable for five shillings an acre. Cotton and indigo grow wild; cotton of fine quality may be advantageously cultivated by British capitalists; and wheat, oats, beans, tobacco, coffee, and sugar are important crops. Iron abounds; building-stone everywhere prevails; and excellent coal has been found. The exports in 1844 amounted in value to £11,094, and consisted chiefly of butter, hides, tallow, wool, ivory, and natural curiosities; and the imports in the same year amounted to £40,864 from Cape Town, and to £277 from all other quarters. The sale of land, till the close of 1846, yielded to the Government £24,683, and during 1847 yielded £10,312. The settlement was erected strictly as a dependency of the Cape of Good Hope, under the administration of a lieutenant-general, assisted by a board of officers. The expense of governing it previous to 1846 rested chiefly on the treasury of the Cape of Good Hope, and on the military chest, but since 1846 has been defrayed by a revenue raised within the settlement's own limits. Since 1846, also, the causes of previous vexation respecting the tenure of land have been removed, and a rapid increase in the influx of settlers has taken place.

The Protestant missions of Southern Africa have exerted a powerful influence both on the reclamation of the natives, and on the improvement of the colonists. They belong severally to most of the missionary societies and missionary boards of Europe, yet have generally worked together in a co-operation of brotherhood, and

The settle-
ment of
Natal.

The missions
of Southern
Africa.

CHAP. XXII. in a rivalry of benevolence. Their stations are scattered through all the backward region of the old Cape colony, through all that colony's dependencies, through great part of the east across all Caffraria, and great part of the interior northward to Koulobeng. They have not only communicated to the people the light of true religion, but have successfully laboured to improve their temporal circumstances, and to encourage habits of order, cleanliness, and industry. The Griquas, a mixed race whose lands stretch along the northern border of the colony, have been brought almost entirely under their influence, and have thus been weaned from turbulent and disorderly habits, to which they had been greatly addicted. A considerable number of the missionaries established themselves in Caffreland, and were beginning to acquire a certain influence over that rude race, whose ferocity was so far mitigated, that, in their plundering career, they spared women and children, who in former times had usually fallen victims. The stations and schools were broken up at the commencement of the wars, the pupils being compelled in many cases to join the invading force. The missionaries themselves endured rough treatment, and even violent threats, though they were never exposed to any actual outrage. Great efforts have since been made to restore the missions; and Government seem now convinced, that the best mode, both of improving and conciliating these savage tribes, is by encouraging the exertions of this valuable body of men. Like the Christian Church in all times of persecution, too, the missions in South Africa, the more they have been obstructed by difficulty or shaken by disaster, have only become the more firmly vigorous and the more extensively useful.

The reclama-
tion of the
Griquas.

The colony of
Sierra Leone.

By far the most persevering effort made by Britain to form a colony in Africa, has been bestowed on that at Sierra Leone,—an undertaking which originated in the most benevolent motives, and was long conducted under

highly distinguished patronage. Its object was the improvement of the continent, as well as the diminution and final abolition of the slave-trade. In 1772, a celebrated decision by Lord Mansfield established the principle, that a negro, from the moment he sets foot on British ground, becomes free. A strong interest was thus excited on the subject; and a great number of black servants having, in consequence, left their masters, were wandering in a destitute condition in the streets of the British metropolis. On learning their circumstances, Mr Granville Sharp, an individual of unwearied benevolence, with the advice of Mr Smeathman, who had spent a considerable time in Africa, formed the plan of transporting them into their native country, to lay the foundation of a settlement. Government having concurred in the undertaking, emigrants were sent out in the *Nautilus*, Captain Thompson, and landed, on the 9th May 1787, upon a district of about twenty square miles, purchased from Naimbanna, the king of Sierra Leone. Unfortunately, these negroes, as well as about sixty whites, chiefly females, sent along with them, were of very indifferent characters. A great proportion, accordingly, soon fell a sacrifice to the climate,—the others showed themselves destitute of all industry, and were besides severely harassed by the hostility of the neighbouring tribes; so that, by the year 1791, the whole number was reduced to sixty-four. But the philanthropic zeal which prevailed in Britain for the colonization of Africa suffered no abatement. An association was formed under the title of the St George's Bay, and afterwards of the Sierra Leone Company, with a capital of £250,000, for the prosecution of this interesting object; and there was soon opened up another source whence a supply of colonists might be drawn. During the American war, a number of negro slaves in the revolted colonies, on the invitation of the British government, had deserted their masters and joined her standard. After the unfortunate issue of that contest, these fugitives claimed the fulfilment of a promise said to have been given, that they

CHAP. XXII

Negro emancipation.

The Sierra Leone Company.

CHAP. XXII. should have lands allotted for their subsistence ; and the proffer now made of grants on their native shore, in a more congenial climate, was cordially accepted. In March 1792, they were landed at Sierra Leone, to the amount of 1131, in addition to 100 Europeans who had arrived in the preceding month. A fever, however, which the negroes had brought with them, aggravated by the unhealthy atmosphere, carried off a considerable number ; and to this latter cause of mortality half of the European settlers fell victims. The improvement of the colony was also much retarded by a very general spirit of insubordination ; and, in 1794, it was barbarously plundered by a French squadron, which caused losses amounting to upwards of £50,000. However, the establishment had gradually recovered, and was beginning to make some progress, when, in 1800, it received an addition of 550 maroons, or revolted blacks from Jamaica, who had been originally transported to Nova Scotia. They arrived at a very seasonable moment, during a disturbance just broken out among the original body of negroes, which the British crews were busily employed in suppressing.

Disasters of
the Sierra
Leone
colony.

Establish-
ment of it as
a crown
colony.

Notwithstanding all that was done for the improvement of Sierra Leone, which had more than absorbed the original capital of the Company, very little progress was yet made towards fulfilling its objects. No spirit of industry had been infused into the inhabitants, and no amicable connexions formed with the neighbouring states. The subscribers had scarcely the means of supporting it any longer ; but there appeared reason to hope that the more influential efforts of government might overcome the obstacles which had hitherto baffled the most strenuous endeavours of individuals. Accordingly, by mutual agreement, concluded on the 8th August 1807, and carried into effect on the 1st January following, the settlement was surrendered into the hands of the crown, and placed on the same footing with the other British colonies.

From this time a new and much more copious source

of population was opened. In the year just mentioned, Britain prohibited her own subjects from carrying on the slave-trade, and the government afterwards obtained an assurance from other countries, that they too would discontinue it along all the coast northward of the Line. Our Admiralty even received permission to capture such of their vessels as within those limits might be found employed in the conveyance of slaves; and in her zeal for the abolition of this odious traffic, England has maintained a number of ships constantly watching the seas, and taking every vessel thus unlawfully laden. The liberated negroes are brought to Sierra Leone, where they are located in the surrounding villages. For some time they receive rations, and are kept in strict subordination; but, after a certain period, they obtain assignments of ground, from which to earn their own subsistence. The population of the colony amounted in 1840 to about 60,000.

The locating
of liberated
negroes in it.

The climate of Sierra Leone is singularly baneful to Europeans; and this circumstance has always, in various ways and very powerfully, impaired the efficiency of the colony. The unhealthiness of the climate, it is supposed, is owing not so much to the heat, as to noxious exhalations arising from an ill-regulated town and an uncultivated country covered with such a mass of brushwood and jungle as to impede the necessary ventilation. The result is a remittent fever, so malignant that almost all white persons recently arrived are attacked by it, and not one in three recovers. According to Sir James Alexander, the salubrity of the settlement has been greatly improved by the clearing away of a large quantity of wood. That gentleman attributes many of the deaths either to rash and reckless exposure, or to the opposite extreme of a timid and dispiriting caution. He especially recommends regular exercise, guarding against extremes of heat and moisture, with a temperate but not abstemious diet. By these means he preserved perfect health during a long tropical voyage.

The insalubrity of its
climate.

CHAP. XXII.

The character of its population.

The state of missions in it.

The liberated negroes have, for many years, formed about four-fifths or more of the whole population. Multitudes of them, at landing, have been little or nothing different from savages; yet most have very soon acquired the habits and feelings of civilized life; while some, in a few years, have even become qualified for important lucrative situations. They are remarkable, especially, for their love of learning. The rising generation are generally very emulous at school; the adults, for the most part, are fond of displaying knowledge, and therefore anxious to acquire it; and many of the best instructed are not a little zealous to act as voluntary teachers, both in schools and in religious meetings. What renders this fine spirit more striking is that, in consequence of the extreme insalubrity of the climate, there has often been a great scarcity of European instructors. Very many indeed, have gone out from Britain,—but have suddenly fallen beneath the stroke of the malignant fever; and equally many successors, series after series, have followed to the colony and to the grave,—displaying an amount of moral heroism scarcely anywhere paralleled in the history of missions. In 1851, the Church Missionary Society had within the colony 12 ordained European missionaries, 3 ordained native missionaries, 1 European catechist, 5 native catechists, 3 European female teachers, 48 native teachers and schoolmasters, 4 native schoolmistresses, 15 stations, 2061 communicants, 6950 adult attendants on public worship, 3 superior seminaries, 45 ordinary schools, and 6250 seminarists and scholars; and in the same year, the Wesleyan Missionary Society had in the colony 7 missionaries, 6 catechists, 46 day-school teachers, 71 local preachers, 123 sabbath-school teachers, 31 chapels, 2 other preaching places, 5162 accredited church members, 9114 attendants on public worship, 20 day-schools, and 3144 scholars.

Earl Grey, in his work just published on the Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's government, expresses

an opinion that Sierra Leone has been much injured by a system of extraneous support too lavish and pampering to afford sufficient play for the development of self-sustaining power. And he adds—"Comparing its actual condition with the length of time that has elapsed since the colony was established, and with the very large amount of the expenditure which for many years was incurred there by this country, I fear it must be admitted to have disappointed the expectations of its philanthropic founders. The parliamentary grant for the civil establishment of 1851 was only £4,465, exclusive of the cost of the liberated African department, amounting to £3,545, a charge arising from the measures adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade. Here the experiment of direct taxation upon an uncivilized population has been tried, in the form of a house and land-tax; but the law did not finally come into operation until the 1st of January 1852, and I have no information as to the effects, except that in the Governor's annual report, dated 26th June last, I observe it to be stated that this tax has been prolific beyond his most sanguine expectations, and promises to be a most fruitful source of revenue."

CHAP. XXII.

Earl Grey's
opinion of it.

Two settlements on the same footing as Sierre Leone, and peopled chiefly by liberated negroes, were formed at a later period, on islands in the river Gambia. The one is Bathurst, on the island of St. Mary's, in the mouth of the river. It comprises several villages, and contained, in 1836, a population of 2,825. The island is low, swampy, narrow, and only about four miles long, but occupies a commanding situation, in reference to both the estuary and the river. The other settlement is on M'Carthy's Island, 127 miles above Bathurst. It contained, in 1836, a population of 1,600. But though small, it has been eminently successful. So early as 1842, just ten years after the formation of the settlement, the British governor of the Gambia, on occasion of a personal visit of inspection to it, pro-

The settle-
ments in the
Gambia.

CHAP. XXII. nounced the change which had taken place upon its people, "an almost incredible change from savage life to one of comparative refinement." Some of the liberated negroes were very prosperous; many of the natives had become decent and industrious; and most of both classes seemed to be as well-behaved as the ordinary peasantry of Britain, and much more polite.

The commerce of these settlements.

These two settlements, from their perfect command of the communication between a large rich region of Senegambia and the sea, are most favourably situated for commerce. They enjoy tolerable protection from the presence of a small British force, and have of late been much aided by the plying of a steamer on the river. But even in their early years, they were visited by merchants from remote parts of the interior, even Timbuctoo, the Great Desert, and the country of gold. The value of exports rose from £91,000 in 1835 to £147,700 in 1836. The chief articles were wax, £35,183; hides, £17,533; gum, £20,809; teak timber, £12,355; corn, £12,848; gold, £5,010; rice, £4,084. The imports of various European articles amounted to £114,772. The trade is thus considerably superior to that of Sierra Leone. The following statement exhibits a combined view of both for the year 1836:—

| Exports from them. | EXPORTS. | | Value. |
|--------------------|---|---------|----------|
| | | | |
| | Timber (teak), 2780 loads, 17,225 pieces, | £39,218 | |
| | Camwood, 565 tcns, | 5,645 | |
| | Bees' wax, 562,898 lbs., | 35,255 | |
| | Hides, 94,029 No., | 18,397 | |
| | Palm oil, 103,116 gallons, | 11,023 | |
| | Rice, 1,247,167 lbs., | 5,268 | |
| | Grain, African, 75,055 bushels, | 12,849 | |
| | Gum, Senegal, 480,491 lbs., | 20,809 | |
| | Ivory, 43,759 lbs., | 7,572 | |
| | Guns and Gunpowder, | 7,704 | |
| | Tobacco, 148,977 lbs., | 4,534 | |
| | Gold bullion, | 5,010 | |
| | Sundries, | 24,332 | |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | £197,616 |

| IMPORTS. | Value. | CHAP. XXII |
|---|----------------|------------|
| Cotton manufactures, 1,615,732 yards, &c.,..... | £44,652 | — |
| India piece goods,..... | 28,597 | |
| Guns, 29,417,..... | 16,741 | |
| Gunpowder, 477,618 lbs.,..... | 9,779 | |
| Apparel, beads, amber,..... | 17,652 | |
| Tobacco, 1,080,317 lbs.,..... | 22,319 | |
| Spirits, 85,394 gallons,..... | 9,558 | |
| Iron and hardware,..... | 8,566 | |
| Gum, Senegal, 369,737 lbs.,..... | 15,890 | |
| Rice, 1,443,546 lbs.,..... | 6,710 | |
| Wax, 226,254 lbs.,..... | 7,006 | |
| Sundries, | 45,218 | |
| | <hr/> £232,688 | |

The following list contains the countries with which this intercourse was carried on:—

| | Exports. | Imports. |
|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Great Britain, | 123,659 | 165,027 |
| Rest of Europe,..... | | 2,506 |
| Cape Verd Islands,..... | 760 | 996 |
| Senegal,..... | 37,103 | 24,368 |
| Leeward coast,..... | 18,681 | 21,224 |
| Windward coast,..... | 1,619 | 1,628 |
| British North America,..... | 974 | 1,946 |
| United States, &c.,..... | 14,820 | 14,993 |
| | <hr/> 197,616 | <hr/> 232,688 |

Distribution
of the Gam-
bia's com-
merce.

Of late years, ground nuts have become the principal article of export from the Gambia. These are raised on the low tracts of country adjacent to the lower reaches of the river. But the chief cultivators of them are natives of districts far in the interior, who come down for two or three years as emigrants, hire land from the local chiefs, sedulously raise crops of the ground nuts, barter them for such European goods as they severally fancy, and then return with their purchased commodities to their far inland homes. Hence does the trade in ground nuts serve not merely to develop the commercial resources of Senegambia, but also to transmit considerable and increasing knowledge

The trade in
ground nuts.

CHAP. XXII. of civilized arts and manners far into the interior of Africa. This trade has grown with great rapidity. In 1837, the quantity of ground nuts exported from Bathurst was only 47 tons; but in 1851, including 1000 tons sent from the French factory of Albreda, it amounted to 12,094 tons, valued at £145,133.

The British
forts on the
Gold Coast.

The old British forts on the Gold Coast are now as valuable to Western Africa as the modern British settlements. They were originally formed, indeed, for carrying on the slave trade; but they have latterly been a chief means of suppressing that infamous traffic, and at the same time have done vast and varied service in the promotion of general civilization. The only proper British territory connected with them does not extend farther than a cannon-shot around each fort; yet a region lies around them, in entire voluntary subjection to British sway, comprising not less than 8000 square miles, and occupied by not fewer than 400,000 inhabitants. This region is divided among numerous chiefs, and was once as rife as any other part of Africa with petty warfare, slave raids, fetish superstitions, and all the other desolating characteristics of the negro race. But the moral ascendancy of Britain, operating through a slowly established custom of bringing all disputes to the arbitration of the governors of the British forts, has put a complete end to the warfare, so that the whole region now reposes in perennial peace. The public administration of justice by the British magistrates also, the more so as it has usually been accompanied with explanations of the principles of equity and of the grounds of the decisions, has served to mitigate oppression, to abolish some unjust punishments, and to diffuse comparatively right, though still rude, notions of general jurisprudence. Even so late as 1849, the punishing of witchcraft and the persecuting of despisers or neglectors of the fetish were publicly acknowledged to be wrong.

British influ-
ence on the
Gold Coast.

So great a change among so large a population involves

scope, incitement, and security for a vast development of social well-being. Hence have feelings of brotherhood and co-operation extensively taken the place of feelings of hatred and hostility; the rights of property are respected; the arts of civilized life are springing up; the services of the schoolmaster and of the Christian missionary are welcomed; and a healthy, happy, marketable industry is already common. The region is well adapted to the production of commodities which are always sure to sell well in the markets of Europe; and therefore appears a very promising field for the application of British capital. Even the desideratum of a general local government to consolidate its interests, develope its resources, open up its communications, direct its enterprise, and insure its stability, has just been supplied. The British forts on the Gold Coast were lately considered a kind of dependency of Sierra Leone, and were governed by an officer who held only the rank of Lieutenant-governor, and had no legislative power. But her Majesty, by advice of Lord John Russell's Ministry, constituted them a separate colony, with a governor of their own, and a legislative council; and gave authority to the governor and council to make the utmost possible prudent use of the voluntary submission of the native chiefs. Major Hill, the first governor, was eminently successful. "He succeeded," says Earl Grey, "in inducing the chiefs and people throughout the countries under the British protection to agree to a poll-tax of one shilling per head for each man, woman, and child, by which he calculates that a revenue of £20,000 a-year will be obtained, to be expended in extending the judicial system, educating the children, affording increased medical aid to the population, opening and improving the internal communications, and other measures of utility. For this purpose, and with a view to future legislation, the governor thought it advisable to form the native chiefs, with his council and himself, into a legislative assembly,

CHAP. XXII.

The state of
society on
the Gold
Coast.

New colonial
government
on the Gold
Coast.

CHAP. XXII. reserving the power to the governor to assemble, pro-
 ———
 rogue, and dissolve this meeting at pleasure. On the 19th April last (April 1852), Major Hill had a general meeting of the kings and chiefs of the protected territory at Cape Coast Castle, when they unanimously agreed to resolutions by which the authority of the new assembly was recognised, and its constitution settled."

American
 colonization
 in Africa.

The Americans have pursued, to a certain extent, a scheme of colonization, which also has done good service to Western Africa. Several of the States labour under the disadvantages arising from a continually increasing slave population, who, though treated with less severity than the negroes were in the West India islands, are in every other point of view kept in a condition equally degraded. It is a heavy additional evil, that even after obtaining their liberty, they, as well as all in whom can be traced any mixture of negro blood, are regarded as beings of an inferior order, and held almost as outcasts from society. To relieve the Union from a class who, being so much wronged, are necessarily discontented, and to employ them as instruments in the civilization of Africa, was to accomplish a double benefit. The design was first entertained in 1816 by Dr. Findlay, Mr. Caldwell, and other gentlemen, who instituted a private society for this purpose; and the President, Mr. Monroe, having sanctioned their views, appointed two government agents to co-operate with them. The persons employed repaired in 1818 to Sierra Leone, and with some difficulty obtained a promise of land on the island of Sherbro', which appeared the most eligible spot. In 1820, eighty-eight colonists were transported thither; but this commencement was most inauspicious. The three agents and twenty of the settlers died of a disease incident to the climate; and it was judged expedient to remove the remainder to Sierra Leone. There they were joined by twenty-eight new emigrants; and the superintendent fixed

Abortive
 settlement
 in the island
 of Sherbro'.

upon another station, which, being fertile, elevated, and healthy, afforded a better promise of success to the undertaking. It is a long, narrow promontory, called Cape Mesurada, projecting between a river of the same name and the ocean by which it is washed. The purchase was effected for about 300 dollars; and in the beginning of 1822 the people were located upon it. But the various disadvantages of a new settlement, joined to the hostility of the natives, soon reduced them to such difficulties, that Dr. Ayres was obliged to set out for America to represent their condition to the society, and obtain supplies. He was succeeded as director by Mr. Ashmun, under whose prudent management the colony was enabled to pass through those trying circumstances which it soon encountered. The rude natives, while the transaction consisted merely in receiving a quantity of valuable commodities, found it extremely agreeable, and were little disposed to contemplate the consequences. But when the payments were completed, and they saw a portion of their territory occupied by strangers, who were proceeding to form a new state within their own, a feeling of decided hostility took the place of their previous cordiality. Many of the fierce and warlike tribes who bordered upon the station felt equal jealousy, or were inspired by the hope of plunder. The settlers were at first much indebted to the protection of King Boatswain, a powerful chief who ruled over this part of Africa; but at length the monarchs, George, Tom, Peter, Ben, Willy, Jimmy, with their auxiliaries, united in a confederacy to overpower the foreigners. On the 11th of November 1822, a general attack was made by about 1000 barbarians, while the colony possessed only twenty-seven men able to bear arms, and who were imperfectly trained to the use of them. They suffered severe loss, and were reduced to great extremity; but at length the assailants were completely repulsed. The attack, afterwards renewed, was resisted with a still more de-

CHAP. XXII.

The settle-
ment at Cape
Mesurada.

Hostility to-
ward it
among the
natives.

CHAP. XXII. cided success; and since that time no farther hostilities have occurred.

The colony
of Liberia.

On the 20th February, the settlement was named, not perhaps in very good taste, Liberia, and the town Monrovia. A political constitution was formed, according to which the agent was to exercise the sovereign authority, subject to the directions of the Board; but the colonists were secured in equal rights, and in such privileges as might prepare them ultimately to govern themselves in a manner entirely independent. No white person was allowed to become a resident, the establishment being destined solely for the benefit of free men of colour. As the territory originally occupied was found too small for the occupancy of the increasing population, and for the development of their commercial enterprise, additional purchases were from time to time made by the Colonization Society, till it acquired an extent of about 320 miles along the coast, with an average breadth of 80 miles. Neither the climate nor the soil was found to be so favourable as the promoters of the settlement expected; the want of natural facilities for penetrating into the interior, and for effecting easy transport of commodities, proved a grievous obstruction to progress; and at the same time, the divided state of public feeling in the United States on all subjects connected with slavery, so embarrassed the Colonization Society as to prevent them from making adequate efforts for the settlement's prosperity—the Abolition Society offering firm opposition to the whole scheme, on the principle of seeking to improve the condition of the negroes at home rather than to send them to Africa. Captain Lynch, too, who explored Liberia and its vicinity, with particular reference to the rivers, from early in January to late in March 1853, found no stream of the region navigable to a greater distance than twenty-one miles from the sea, and reported, on his return to the United States, that no very favourable idea could be entertained of white

Embarrass-
ments of that
colony.

colonization on the coast of Guinea, even in a temporary way, and merely for purposes of commerce. Yet, in spite of all difficulties, physical and political, in spite also of a long season of doubt and perplexity, Liberia has prospered and is likely to prosper. CHAP. XXII

In July 1848, it was recognised as an independent republic. The government is vested in a president, a vice-president, a senate of six members, and a house of representatives of twenty-eight members, elected by all possessors of a real estate to the value of thirty dollars. The revenue is derived from the sale of land, and from duties on spirits, and amounts to about 20,000 dollars a-year. The population in 1827 was only 1,200, and in 1830 not more than about 1,500; but chiefly through the ingress of settlers, and the extensions of the territory, it amounted in 1848 to about 80,000, nearly or quite one-tenth of whom were free coloured settlers from America, while the rest were principally natives, who cordially acknowledged the republic's authority. So many as about 50,000 of the population are said to speak or to understand the English language; and the inhabitants of the adjacent states, even to the distance of 400 or 500 miles, have begun to be affected by the republic's policy, not only to the extent of imbibing its hostility to the slave-trade, and of adopting its principles of commerce, but even in some instances to the extent of sending their children to be educated in its schools. The population of Monrovia rose from about 700 in 1830, to about 9,000 in 1848. The town occupies the sides and summit of a hill, but has a vastly nearer resemblance to the infant cities of the new parts of the United States than to any ancient town of the old world. Its area is largely rural, being extensively occupied by herbage and trees; and its houses stand among gardens, and are dispersed more in the manner of villas than of street-lines. The town contains Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Baptist places of worship, issues two public journals, and has a number of appli-

Erection of
it into a re-
public.

The town of
Monrovia.

CHAP. XXII — ances suitable for trade and government. The climate of the tracts around it has been much improved by the draining of marshes and the clearing of woods. The principal exports are palm-oil, cam-wood, arrow-root, indigo, coffee, ivory, and gold-dust; but other productions in large quantities, particularly cotton, cocoa, and sugar, are likely soon to be added. The value of palm-oil exported in 1847 was 150,000 dollars; and that of the other exports of that year was 450,000 dollars. The interior traffic, in the exchange of imported goods for native productions, is estimated to be carried on with about two millions of population. Still the commercial progress of the republic has to contend with serious difficulties. The coast is not easily accessible to ships; the harbours are few and fickle; the rivers, besides being generally short and shallow, have intricate inlets; the facilities for road-making are not of the first order; no draught animals are found to succeed; and hitherto much of the cam-wood exported has been brought 200 miles from the interior on men's backs. All these evils, however, as well as some others, may in course of time be well obviated by judicious persevering enterprise.

The trade of
Liberia.

Earl Grey's
remarks on
Western
Africa.

An excellent general remark of Earl Grey respecting the British settlements in Western Africa applies as truly, though not so strongly, to Liberia: "I will only say that the actual condition of these settlements seems to be such as to warrant the belief that this country is destined at length to see the fruit of the persevering efforts it has so long made to render these settlements the means of diffusing Christianity, civilization, and commerce among the degraded inhabitants of that great continent. The first and really difficult steps toward the accomplishment of this high and worthy object have been gained, and there now remain no apparent obstacles of any kind to the progress of improvement, which by the favour of Providence, may henceforth be reasonably expected to proceed at a rate becoming con-

tinually faster, as each successive advance which is effected renders the next more easy." CHAP. XXII

A very powerful auxiliary to social improvement round the entire periphery of the African continent is the recent establishment of steam-navigation. The grand highway between Britain and India now lies through Egypt and the Red Sea; and at the same time government mail-steamers regularly ply between London and Calcutta, calling at the Cape de Verde Islands, Ascension Island, and the Cape of Good Hope; while a large screw steamer sails from London on the first day of every month for all the places of chief note on the west coast of Africa, Madeira, Teneriffe, Goree, Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Whidah, Badagry, Lagos, Bonny, Old Calabar, Cameroons, and Fernando Po. The smoke of a steam vessel has been the signal of sudden happy change in many a sequestered nook of even the British Isles. May it be so also along all the shores of Africa!

Steam navigation to Africa.

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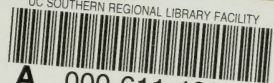




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